

Weekly Compilation of  
**Presidential  
Documents**



Monday, April 12, 1999  
Volume 35—Number 14  
Pages 579–622

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**Editor's Note:** The President was in Philadelphia, PA, on April 9, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

## WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

## PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages, and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* is published pursuant to the authority contained in the Federal Register Act (49 Stat. 500, as amended; 44 U.S.C. Ch. 15), under

regulations prescribed by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register, approved by the President (37 FR 23607; 1 CFR Part 10).

Distribution is made only by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* will be furnished by mail to domestic subscribers for \$80.00 per year (\$137.00 for mailing first class) and to foreign subscribers for \$93.75 per year, payable to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The charge for a single copy is \$3.00 (\$3.75 for foreign mailing).

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Week Ending Friday, April 9, 1999

**The President's Radio Address**

*April 3, 1999*

As we gather in our homes during this sacred week to observe Easter and Passover, let us take a moment to think about the plight of the people in Kosovo, who have been forced from their homes by a campaign of violence and destruction, and who look to us for help and hope.

The tragedy in Kosovo has been mounting for over a year now. Over the last 2 weeks, Serbian forces have intensified their attacks against innocent civilians there, leaving no doubt about the cold, clear goal of their leader, Slobodan Milosevic, to keep Kosovo's land while ridding it of its people.

Nearly one out of every three people in Kosovo has been made homeless since the start of this conflict. Even before the recent surge, well over a quarter of a million people had been displaced. Every hour of every day more arrive at Kosovo's borders, tired, hungry, shaken by what they have been through.

Among them are elderly people, who have lived their whole lives in peace with their neighbors, only to be told now to leave everything behind in minutes or to be killed on the spot. Among them are small children who walked for miles over mountains, sometimes after watching their fathers and uncles and brothers taken from them and shot before their eyes.

Some have been shelled by artillery on their long trek to safety. Many have had their identity papers and family records stolen and destroyed, their history in Kosovo erased, their very existence denied.

Our Nation cannot do everything. We can't end all suffering. We can't stop all violence. But there are times when looking away simply is not an option. Right now, in the middle of Europe, at the doorstep of NATO, an entire people are being made to abandon their homeland or die, not because of any-

thing they've done but simply because of who they are.

If there's one lesson we've learned in this century, it's that that kind of poison will spread if not stopped. If there's one pledge that binds the past and future generations, it is that we cannot allow people to be destroyed because of their ethnic or racial or religious groups when we do have the power to do something about it.

Our military mission in Kosovo is a difficult and dangerous one, but it's necessary and right, and we must stand with all our NATO allies to see it through. Our goal is to exact a very high price for Mr. Milosevic's policy of repression and to seriously diminish his military capacity to maintain that policy.

We also must open our hearts and our arms to the innocent victims of this conflict. This week I authorized the expenditure of \$50 million in emergency funds to support the relief effort and directed our military to do its part to get critical supplies to people in need. We'll work with the United Nations and with the many courageous volunteers working on the ground with nongovernmental organizations from all around the world.

You can help, too. I urge you to call your local Red Cross or church-based charity and ask them how you can get involved. Together, we'll provide food, water, and medicine, blankets, clothing, and shelter to Kosovar refugees. We'll remind the victims of this conflict that for all they have lost, they have not been abandoned or forgotten.

European countries are helping as well. Kosovo's neighbors, Macedonia and Albania, are taking the refugees in, despite the huge burden this places on these poor, struggling nations; so are Greece, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, showing there's more mercy than madness in the Balkans, more compassion than cruelty in this troubled region of the world.

All of us want to provide for the refugees; all of us want to make it possible for them

to return home. Let us do our part for all the innocent people whose lives have been shattered by this conflict. And let us give our thanks to our men and women in uniform who are risking their lives today for our ideals, our interests, and their lives.

Let us keep in our prayers the three brave American servicemen now being held without justification in Belgrade that they may return to us soon. Let us do what we can, and what we must, for peace to prevail. And let us stay the course until it does.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 5:05 p.m. on April 2 in the Oval Office at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on April 3. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on March 5 but was embargoed for release until the broadcast. In his remarks, the President referred to President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro); and the three U.S. Army infantrymen in custody in Serbia: Staff Sgt. Andrew A. Ramirez, Staff Sgt. Christopher J. Stone, and Specialist Steven M. Gonzales.

### **Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on the Decision To Send Certain United States Forces to Macedonia and Albania**

*April 3, 1999*

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

Since I reported to the Congress on March 25, 1999, under section 8115 of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1999 (Public Law 105-262), there have been dramatic and very serious developments in Kosovo and the region, particularly Macedonia and Albania. Belgrade's sustained and accelerating repression and ethnic cleansing in Kosovo has created a humanitarian crisis of staggering dimensions. Estimates are that more than 800,000 Kosovars have been displaced from their homes and villages, with large concentrations in Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro, and with the numbers rising dramatically every day. Throughout Kosovo, Serb forces have burned villages. Homes throughout the region have been looted and are smoldering. In Pristina, Kosovars are being forced into rail cars and shipped to the Macedonian border.

As the refugee flow out of Kosovo has surged, the limited ability of Albania and Macedonia to deal with the situation has been overwhelmed. The international organizations engaged in refugee assistance do not currently have in the region the ability and resources to deal with a refugee crisis of this magnitude. Unless adequate care can be provided for these refugees, a humanitarian disaster of immense proportions will result. In addition to the human suffering involved, such a disaster carries with it the very real possibility of destabilizing the governments and societies of Albania and Macedonia. This disaster could have the effect of spreading violence in the region that NATO is determined to prevent.

In the light of these disturbing events, I have directed that additional U.S. forces be deployed to Albania and Macedonia in order to support disaster relief by, among other activities, delivering food and essentials, constructing shelter, providing coordination and assisting in onward movement, and when necessary, providing protection for relief supplies and refugees. In regard to the elements of section 815(a)(1)-(8), I am providing the following information.

1 & 2. *National Security Interests.* I hereby certify that the deployment of additional forces to Albania and Macedonia as described above is necessary in the national security interests of the United States. These actions will provide additional forces to aid in the relief efforts supporting Kosovar refugees. They also will contribute to the overall effort to stabilize this region that has historically been a tinderbox, thereby helping to preserve peace and security in the region.

3. *Numbers.* The number of U.S. personnel who will be deployed for these purposes cannot be definitively provided at this time, since planning for the deployment is ongoing. I would anticipate, at a minimum, a deployment of 1,000 personnel. It can be anticipated that headquarters elements, air crews, airlift control elements, selected transport and rotary wing aircraft, security personnel, civil affairs and psychological operations personnel, medical and engineer forces, and logistics support forces may become involved in the operation. These forces

will operate under U.S. and NATO operational control. I will ensure that the Congress is informed in a timely manner about deployments described in this report when the information is available.

4. *Mission/Objectives.* As stated above and in my report to the Congress of March 25, the overall objective of our efforts with our allies is to maintain stability in the region and prevent a humanitarian disaster resulting from the ongoing offensive against the people of Kosovo. The specific military mission of the forces deployed as described in this report would be to support disaster relief operations to aid in the care and protection of Kosovar refugees and to provide for their own security.

5. *Schedule.* At this point, it is not possible to determine how long these deployments to Albania and Macedonia in response to this dire need will be required. This will be affected by how long Belgrade continues its campaign of ethnic cleansing and how long beyond the cessation of that campaign it will take before the Kosovar refugees will be able to return to their homes or resettle elsewhere. Circumstances permitting, it will be our objective to transfer responsibility for the refugees to other organizations such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as soon as possible.

6. *Exit Strategy.* The duration of the requirement for a U.S. military presence in Albania and Macedonia for these purposes will depend on the course of events, and in particular, on Belgrade's conduct on the ground in Kosovo. So long as Belgrade forces the Kosovar refugees to remain dispossessed, and the enormity of the situation continues to overwhelm the ability of Albania, Macedonia, and the international relief community to deal with the situation, it is likely that U.S. forces deployed for these purposes will be required. Nevertheless, as stated above, it will be our objective to transfer responsibility for the refugees to other organizations as soon as the emergency has subsided. In addition, we are working with our European partners to provide temporary asylum to some of the refugees in third countries.

7. *Costs.* The costs of the deployment described in this notice will be paid initially from FY99 Defense appropriations, includ-

ing the provision of defense commodities and services directed pursuant to Presidential Determination 99-20 of March 31, 1999. An estimate of likely costs for these deployments is being prepared, and I will ensure that it is provided to the Congress as soon as it is available.

8. *Effect on Morale, Retention and Readiness.* In the first instance, these deployments will have a positive effect on morale, retention and readiness because they will demonstrate the commitment of the necessary resources to those aspects of operations relating to response to the worsening conditions brought by the refugee crisis in the area.

United States forces participating in these operations, as well as U.S. forces deployed for other purposes in the region are dedicated professionals serving with great pride and enthusiasm. Given the importance of these activities, particularly in humanitarian terms, we anticipate that U.S. forces would maintain the highest morale and effectiveness. It has been our experience that personnel serving in these types of operations manifest great pride and satisfaction in demonstrating America's capacity to ensure care and protection for people in need.

However, we recognize that even deployments for the best of reasons increase the periods of separation from family and add other burdens to military service.

The Department of Defense has underway extensive and effective programs to do what is necessary to manage personnel and other resources so as to reduce these problems. As with any operational deployment, the effects on readiness are mixed. In these operations, U.S. forces will be conducting one of the missions they have been trained to perform, which will provide an unparalleled opportunity to apply their skills in a unique environment. We believe that this will contribute significantly to a high state of morale and readiness.

Sincerely,

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to J. Dennis Hastert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on April 5.

**Letter to Congressional Leaders  
Reporting on the Decision To Send  
Certain United States Forces to  
Macedonia and Albania**

*April 4, 1999*

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

Further to my report to the Congress of March 25 and April 3, 1999, under section 8115 of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1999 (Public Law 105-262), this report is to inform you of my decision to deploy additional U.S. forces to Albania in support of ongoing NATO air operations to reduce the capacity of the Serbian military and security forces to conduct offensive operations.

In particular, rotary wing, artillery, and tactical missile systems will be deployed to establish a deep strike task force in Albania to enhance NATO's ability to conduct effective air operations in Kosovo as part of the current NATO mission. In regard to the elements of section 8115(a)(1)-(8), I am providing the following to supplement information provided on these elements in my reports of March 25 and April 3, 1999.

1 & 2. *National Security Interests.* I hereby certify that the deployment of additional forces to Albania as described above is necessary in the national security interests of the United States. This deployment will provide additional specialized forces to reduce the capacity of the Serbian military and security forces to continue repression and ethnic cleansing and to deter the threat to regional peace and security.

3. *Numbers.* I anticipate that a substantial deep strike task force, comprised of rotary wing, artillery, and tactical missile systems, together with supporting and security elements, will be deployed to Albania for these purposes. There is not at this time a definitive number of U.S. military personnel who will be deployed as part of this task force, but I anticipate that, at a minimum, approximately 2,000 will be required. I will ensure that the Congress is informed in a timely manner about the deployment described in this report when the information is available.

4. *Mission/Objectives.* The overall objective of our efforts with our allies in the region

has been detailed in my previous reports of March 25 and April 3, 1999. The specific military mission of the strike task force deployed to Albania will be to support ongoing NATO air operations to reduce the capacity of the Serbian military and security forces to conduct offensive operations. The ground force component is for the support and security of the deep strike elements. Their mission does not include any planned deployment of ground troops into the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

5. *Schedule.* Although it is not possible at this time to determine how long NATO operations will need to continue, we are determined to sustain this effort along with our allies as long as necessary to meet our objectives.

6. *Exit Strategy.* The duration of the requirement for this strike task force deployment to Albania will depend on the course of events, and in particular, on Belgrade's reaction to NATO operations.

7. *Costs.* The costs of the deployment covered by this notice, like the costs of the U.S. contribution to NATO air operations, will be paid initially from FY99 Defense Operations and Maintenance appropriations. An estimate of likely costs for these deployments is being prepared, and I will ensure that it is provided to the Congress as soon as it is available.

8. *Effect on Morale, Retention and Readiness.* In addition to the specific points I made on these matters in my reports of March 25 and April 3, I would only underscore and express my deep gratitude for the great pride, courage, professionalism, and enthusiasm of the men and women of our Armed Forces who are carrying out this critical mission.

Sincerely,

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to J. Dennis Hastert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on April 5.

## Remarks at the White House Easter Egg Roll

April 5, 1999

**The President.** Thank you very much. I want to welcome you to the White House today. And before I say anything else, I want to say in this season of peace for us I know all of us will send our thoughts and prayers to our men and women in uniform in Kosovo and our prayers and best wishes to the many thousands of refugees that have been generated by that terrible conflict.

Now, let me first begin by thanking our sponsors who make this possible every year, and I thank the White House volunteers. I'd also like to thank the staff for preparing—listen to this—7,000 eggs for today's event. That's more than we ask them to prepare for a state dinner. [Laughter] I'd also like to thank Scholastic, Inc., for the Prescription for Reading program that Hillary mentioned and tell you all that we have tried to make this an occasion for family learning, for children and their parents to learn together. The Prescription is one example.

You can also see an electronic presentation on the White House at the CD-ROM pavilion. You can meet American figures in our history at the Historical Fun Stage. There will be a lot of storytelling sessions. We have a lot of old regulars here and a lot of new people, like Jamie Lee Curtis, who's come to join us this year. And we thank all of them for participating.

Now, I want to get on with the show, but I want to know: Where are the people for the Easter egg roll? Are we down there? Turn around. If you want to see it, they're down right behind us.

**The First Lady.** And over there, too.

**The President.** And over there. Are you ready? Where's our famous, faithful whistle blower? Hey, Bernie. All right.

On your mark. Get ready, set, go!

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:10 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to actress Jamie Lee Curtis and Bernie Fairbanks, White House volunteer.

## Remarks on the Situation in the Balkans and an Exchange With Reporters

April 5, 1999

**The President.** Good afternoon. I want to speak for a few moments today about the situation in Kosovo, the goals of our mission, and our efforts to respond to the humanitarian crisis there.

The weather is now clearing in the region and the air campaign is continuing. We're striking hard at Serbia's machinery of repression, while making a deliberate effort to minimize harm to innocent people. Serbian forces, on the other hand, continue their deliberate, systematic attacks against civilians, who are guilty of nothing more than being ethnic Albanians.

Mr. Milosevic has created a humanitarian disaster in Kosovo. He can end it today by stopping the killing. He could end the bombing. He could end the suffering of the refugees by withdrawing from Kosovo his military police and paramilitary forces, by accepting the deployment of an international security force, and making it possible for all refugees to return, as we move toward a political framework for Kosovo on the basis of the Rambouillet accords.

But more empty promises and token half-measures won't do the job. A commitment to cease killing in a Kosovo denied its freedom and devoid of its people is not acceptable.

If Mr. Milosevic does not do what is necessary, NATO will continue an air campaign. It will be undiminished, unceasing, and unrelenting. It will inflict such damage that either he will change his calculations, or we will seriously diminish his capacity to maintain his grip and impose his control on Kosovo. We are prepared to sustain this effort for the long haul. Our plan is to persist until we prevail.

We know we are up against a dictator who has shown time and again that he would rather rule over rubble than not rule at all, someone who recognized no limits on his behavior except those imposed by others. We have seen this kind of evil conduct before in this century, but rarely has the world stood up to it as rapidly and with such unity and resolve as we see today with NATO's coalition

of 19 democracies, each with its own domestic pressures and procedures, but all united in our outrage and in our determination to see this mission through. In the meantime, we've got to do all we can to aid the victims of Mr. Milosevic's expulsion policy.

Before the Serbian offensive began, we pre-positioned 36,000 metric tons of food in the region, enough to feed half a million people for 3 months. We worked with the United Nations to ready lifesaving supplies at Kosovo's borders with Albania and Macedonia. But it is impossible to prepare fully for the chaos that this kind of cruelty inevitably creates.

We now have committed another \$50 million, over and above the 100 million we had provided before the current crisis. Also at our urging, NATO has put its 11,000 troops in Macedonia to work addressing the humanitarian crisis. It is planning to deploy several thousand troops to Albania, not only to provide aid but to provide security for relief operations.

We've begun shipping 500,000 humanitarian daily rations for refugees in Albania, the first of which arrived in Tirana yesterday. Today a large shipment was delivered to Italy by the first of eight 747 flights. We'll be flying 10 missions daily by C-130 aircraft to Italy—from Italy to Tirana, and taking supplies from there to the border by helicopter.

The first of four shipments of tents for Albania will be flown from Travis Air Force Base in California soon. We're also shipping supplies out of bases in Germany for Macedonia, and we're preparing an additional 600,000 daily rations for that country.

Today, in Los Angeles, the Vice President is meeting with Albanian-American families whose relatives are suffering in Kosovo. Today Secretary Albright and I have named Brian Atwood, who is here with us today, the Administrator for our Agency for International Development, to coordinate our overall humanitarian response in the region.

He will head up a coordinating council that will include three other distinguished public officials. Julia Taft, our Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees and Migration will take the lead in response by civilian agencies to this humanitarian crisis. She is now in Geneva, conferring with the U.N.

High Commissioner on Refugees. James Lee Witt, the Director of our Federal Emergency Management Agency, who is also present, will coordinate private donations to the aid effort and help to ensure that they go where they need to go. FEMA will also provide its expertise to our assessment teams in the region. Finally, I am announcing that Lieutenant General Mike McDuffie, who is here, will be our military coordinator for this operation, which we are calling Operation Sustain Hope.

I hope American citizens will help, as well. We've established an 800 number. It's 1-800-USAID-RELIEF. Now, I know that's got 11 numbers in it, but we tried it just before we came in, and it works anyway. And it's easier to remember: 1-800-USAID-RELIEF. Any American can call and make contributions to private humanitarian organizations and can get information about the private organizations that are providing relief. Many of them are represented in this room today by the people who are sitting here, and I want to thank all of them from the bottom of my heart for their commitment and their tireless efforts.

Americans all over this country want to know what they can do. I can tell you, right now, in the short run, with all those people building up at the borders, the most important thing the American people can do right now is to make financial contributions to these organizations. They're there; they're organized; they know who the people are; they know how to deliver the relief; and we can get it done. We do need help. We're doing all we can. We need more help.

So if we can get this 800 number out—and again, I'm hoping that the fact that there are more numbers than normal in it will actually increase the knowledge of it—1-800-USAID-RELIEF. It will help a lot. I know the American people are profoundly concerned about this. We can tell by mail and the calls coming into the White House, and I hope very much that we will see a big upsurge in personal donations to help the relief effort as well.

Now, let me say in addition to that, we've got to do something to take the pressure off of Albania and Macedonia in terms of the sheer numbers of people that are there.



Many nations, from Norway to Turkey, have agreed to take in large numbers of refugees temporarily, until they can go home. As others do their part, we should be prepared to do ours, as well. Today I can say that we are prepared to accept up to 20,000 refugees. Our goal is to take some of the burden off the struggling frontline nations.

But let me be clear: The ethnic cleansing of Kosovo cannot stand as a permanent event. We cannot say, "Well, we just take all these folks and forget about their rights to go home." I don't believe anyone wants to do that. That's not what we're about. But we have to help deal with the practical, immediate human problems these families face and that these frontline nations face. The refugees belong in their own homes, on their own land. Our immediate goal is to provide relief; our long-term goal is to give them their right to return.

Now, before I close, I'd like to say just a word about another important development in another part of the world, something that's been of concern to me for many years. Today the two suspects accused of carrying out the bombing of Pan Am 103 in 1988 were delivered by the United Nations to the custody of Dutch authorities, to be tried before a Scottish court sitting in The Netherlands. This is a moment much awaited and long overdue.

When I became President, we promised the families of Pan Am 103 that we would pursue the suspects in this case no matter how long it took. We have worked hard on this for years. I want to thank all the people who are still in the administration, and some of those who have gone on to other endeavors, for their passionate devotion to this effort.

For over a decade, the families have kept the memories of their loved ones alive. Now our determination and that of our friends in Great Britain and elsewhere finally has paid off. Finally, diplomacy and sanctions have produced the result we wanted. Finally, we have an opportunity to see justice done.

I know that I speak for all the American people when I say that our thoughts and prayers and support are with the families of Pan Am 103. And we thank all of those who

are involved and who have played a role in making this important day come to pass.

Thank you very much.

### **Military Leaders' Support**

**Q.** Mr. President, do your military share your goals in the operation on Kosovo? We have read many, many stories that—

**The President.** I know that.

**Q.** —the Pentagon people are not with you.

**The President.** Let me say, I will answer this question, and then I think we might want Secretary Cohen and General Shelton to answer it, since they're here. And I want to give them a chance to comment.

First, let me say that one of the jobs that the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs have is to report to me faithfully the view of the Chiefs, the Service Chiefs, the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. And they have performed that faithfully, so that when there is a difference of opinion, when there is even a nuance, they have let me know that, as far as I know, in every important matter. Ultimately, after all, I am responsible for all these decisions and must bear the burden of them, regardless.

Now, in this case, everybody's first choice was diplomacy. Let me remind—let's do a little bit of brief history here. In February of '98, over a year ago, this problem started. We worked on it through diplomacy and with the threat of NATO force, all the way up until last fall. In October we finally got an agreement that allowed hundreds of thousands of people to come down out of the hills to avoid starvation and freezing with the pending winter. We all knew—no one was blind to the difficulties of having to carry forward with any kind of military sanctions.

Now, that worked. Then the problems arose again this year. When the talks failed, we had a series of difficult choices. In the end, everybody agreed that of a bunch of bad options, our military campaign was the best available option to show aggressive action, to keep NATO's word, to keep our NATO allies together, and to give us a chance to preserve our objectives.

Secretary Albright made a point—I believe it was yesterday—that I would like to reiterate. We have a lot of tough questions to

answer about this operation. And I am quite sure that we cannot answer every one to everyone's satisfaction. But I would far rather be standing here answering these questions with these people talking about this endeavor, than I would to be standing here having you ask me why we are permitting a wholesale ethnic slaughter and ethnic cleansing and the creation of hundreds of thousands of refugees and not lifting a finger to do anything about it.

So I recognize that I cannot answer every question to everyone's satisfaction. That is a legitimate question; all the questions are. We are doing the best we can to keep the Alliance together, to be forthright, to be clear, and to achieve our objectives. And I believe we will prevail.

**Q.** Well, are the military with you?

**The President.** My impression is—and again, I think I owe it to the Secretary of Defense and General Shelton, to give them a chance to answer, because they're here—that everyone agreed that while there were problems with the air campaign, including the weather, which all of you saw last week, that this was the best available option for us to maximize the possibility of achieving our mission of standing up against ethnic cleansing, fulfilling NATO's commitment, getting the refugees to be able to go back home, live in peace and security, and have some autonomy.

So that's what I believe. But I want to—Mr. Secretary Cohen?

**Q.** Will you come back after they answer, Mr. President?

**The President.** No. [Laughter]

**Q.** Can we just ask—

**The President.** No, no, go ahead—I want Secretary Cohen to answer the question.

**Secretary Cohen.** Let me respond to the question. The President has outlined it exactly right. All of the issues, the military issues, were discussed by the Chiefs and amongst the Chiefs, and they looked at the options, and knowing that air power had limitations and knowing that there was going to be tough weather, a tough geography and a very robust air defense system.

And so those questions were raised; they were discussed; they were debated within the Armed Services, so to speak, and with the

Chiefs in the tank. They came to the conclusion, unanimously, that the only option available other than sitting on the sidelines was to pursue the air campaign, given its limitations. There was no doubt or division on that ultimate decision.

That was not only made clear to the President; it was made clear to key Members of Congress, as both the Chairman and I briefed House Members and Senate Members on several occasions, and on each and every occasion, we raised the issues involved in waging a military campaign by air, everyone recognizing its limitations but ultimately understanding that this country could not sit on the sidelines and watch Slobodan Milosevic slaughter hundreds and thousands of people, which he was prepared to do, to drive them into the hills, to starve them, to have them freeze to death. We could simply not maintain any credibility as a moral leader in this world, and certainly not as a leader of the NATO force. So there was no question about the options, and this was the option that they unanimously agreed to.

**Q.** Mr. Secretary, the President has said again today that he will persist until the objectives are, in fact, achieved. You, yourself, have now said that everyone understood that air power has limitations. If air power has limitations and cannot achieve the objectives, what then? Abandon the objectives?

**Secretary Cohen.** The President did not say we could not achieve the objective. He laid out three—

**Q.** [Inaudible]—does not have limitations?

**Secretary Cohen.** He laid out—every military operation has limitations. There is no military operation, including ground forces, which does not have limitations. What the President said at the very beginning was that there are three objectives: Number one, that demonstrate resolve on the part of the NATO alliance—we've done that; number two, to try and deter Slobodan Milosevic from carrying out his campaign of ethnic cleansing and, failing that, to make him pay a serious, substantial price for doing so, and to take his military down as best we can through the air power.

Those were the objectives laid out. That is exactly what the Chiefs have signed up to.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:45 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro); and Pan Am 103 bombing suspects Lamen Khalifa Fhimah and Abdal Basset Ali al-Megrahi.

**Statement on the Delivery of the  
Suspects Accused of the 1988  
Bombing of Pan Am Flight 103**

*April 5, 1999*

I am gratified that the two suspects accused in the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 were delivered by the United Nations to the custody of Dutch authorities. Legal proceedings will now take place in accordance with the U.S.-UK initiative for a Scottish trial before a Scottish court sitting in The Netherlands.

The terrorist bombing of Pan Am 103 provoked outrage the world over. It led to more than 10 years of effort by the United States and United Kingdom, with the support of other nations, to bring the suspects to justice.

I am especially thankful for the repeated intervention of U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan, who worked tirelessly to implement the Security Council resolutions. I am also deeply grateful for the efforts of President Mandela, President Mubarak, and the Saudi Ambassador to the United States, Prince Bandar, on behalf of King Fahd and Crown Prince Abdullah.

But most important, today is a day to remember the men and women who lost their lives on Pan Am 103. I know their loved ones have suffered greatly. They, too, have labored hard to bring justice. Last December, on the 10th anniversary of the bombing, I renewed my pledge to the families that I would make my best efforts to bring the accused to trial. Now, at last, the road to justice has begun.

NOTE: The President referred to President Nelson Mandela of South Africa and President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt.

**Letter to Congressional Leaders  
Transmitting a Report on the  
National Emergency With  
Respect to Angola**

*April 5, 1999*

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

As required by section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1641(c) and section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA), I transmit herewith a 6-month periodic report on the national emergency with respect to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) that was declared in Executive Order 12865 of September 26, 1993.

Sincerely,

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to J. Dennis Hastert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate.

**Remarks on the Proposed "Hate  
Crimes Prevention Act"**

*April 6, 1999*

Thank you very much. Senator Leahy, Senator Specter, Congressmen Cardin and Delahunt, Secretary Riley, Acting Assistant Attorney General Bill Lann Lee; to our DC Police Chief, Charles Ramsey, and the other distinguished guests in the audience who are in support, broadened support of the "Hate Crimes Prevention Act." Let me begin by thanking Attorney General Ketterer and Bishop Jane Holmes Dixon for being here.

I want you to know that the attorney general got up at 3 o'clock this morning to drive down here from Maine. And of course, he got up that early so he could stay lawfully within the speed limit—[laughter]—coming down here. And he set a good example, and he was wide awake and very persuasive on the law.

Bishop, we thank you for your very moving remarks. Remind me never to speak behind you again. [Laughter] It was—so much of what the bishop said about the setting of this is many things that I have thought. I think

you know she and I and those of us who grew up in the segregated South are perhaps more sensitive to all these various hate crimes issues, because we grew up in a culture that was dominated for too long by people who thought they only counted if they had somebody to look down on, that they could only lift themselves up if they were pushing someone else down, that their whole definition of a positive life required a negative definition of another group of people. That's really what this is all about.

And if you—as she said, if you look at the whole history of this violence we see in Kosovo, what we went through in Bosnia, this, the fifth anniversary of the awful Rwandan genocide, that I regret so much the world was not organized enough to move quickly enough to deal with it before hundreds of thousands of lives were lost—with the oppression of women in Afghanistan, with the lingering bitterness in the Middle East—you see all these things. When you strip it all away, down deep inside there is this idea that you cannot organize personal life or social life unless some group feels better about itself only when they are oppressing someone else. Or people at least believe that they ought to have the right to do violence against someone else solely because of who they are, not because of what they do. Now at the bottom, that's what this is all about.

And I have said repeatedly since I have been President that one of the things I have sought to do in our country is to bridge all these divides, and to get all of our people not to agree with one another, not to even like one another all the time—goodness knows, we can't like everybody all the time—but to recognize that our common humanity is more important than these categorical differences. And also to recognize that over the long run, America will not be able to be a force for good abroad unless we are good at home.

If you think about the brave men and women who are working with our NATO allies today in Kosovo and you remember that this basically all started 12 years ago when Mr. Milosevic decided to rally the support of his ethnic Serbian group by turning their hatred against the Kosovar Albanians and later the Bosnian Muslims and the Croatian

Catholics and the others, it is very important that we deal with these challenges here at home, even as we continue to support the work of our people in uniform in the Balkans.

I want to say again, the United States would never choose force as anything other than a last option. And Mr. Milosevic could end it now by withdrawing his military police and paramilitary forces, by accepting the deployment of an international security force to protect not only the Kosovar Albanians, most but not all of whom are Muslims, but also the Serbian minority in Kosovo—everybody. We're not for anybody's hate crimes. And by making it possible for all the refugees to return and to move toward a political framework based on the accords reached in France.

Now, as I said, we can't continue to organize ourselves to try to stand against these things around the world—which I firmly hope we will. I applaud the women in America who have done so much to bring to the world's attention the terrible treatment of women in Afghanistan, for example. And we have worked hard in Africa to work with other African forces to build an Africa Crisis Response Initiative so that something like the Rwanda genocide cannot happen again. We have to keep working on these things.

But first of all, we must always be working on ourselves. That's really what this is about. Because we know this is more the work of the bishop than the President, but we know that inside each of us there are vulnerabilities to dehumanizing other people simply by putting them in a category that permits us to dismiss them or that permits us to put them in a category so that on a bad day, when we're feeling especially bad about something we've done, we can say, "Well, thank God I'm not them." And it is a short step from that—a short, short step from that—to licensing or even participating in acts of violence.

As I said, it may be—I was standing here looking at Secretary Riley and Bishop Dixon; I was thinking about all the years that Secretary Riley and I worked together. It may be that the three of us are more sensitive to this because we grew up in the segregated South, but it is very easy to get into a social system where you always get to think a little better of yourself because you've always got

someone that you can dehumanize. And that's really what this whole issue with gays is today in America.

We're not talking about everybody agreeing with everybody else on every political issue. We're talking about whether people have a right, if they show up and work hard and obey the law and are good citizens, to pursue their lives and dignity without—free of fear, without fear of being abused.

And this should not be a partisan issue. I want to thank Senator Specter for showing up here today. This ought not to be anything other than a basic, simple statement of American principle.

But I would like to say one other thing, just as a practical matter. Isn't it interesting to you that we are on the eve of a new century and a new millennium, which will be largely characterized by globalization, the explosion of technology, especially information, and the integration of people, and the number one security threat to that is the persistence of old, even primitive, hatreds? Don't you think that's interesting?

So what I worry about all the time is whether terrorists can get on the Internet and figure out how to make chemical and biological weapons to pursue agendas against people of different ethnic or religious groups. And so it's very humbling, I think, for those of us who think we have brought the modern world and prosperity and rationality to all of human affairs, to see what is going on in the Balkans and to see these terrible examples of violence here in our own country. It's very humbling. We should remember that each of us almost wakes up every day with the scales of light and darkness in our own hearts, and we've got to keep them in proper balance. And we have to be, in the United States, absolutely resolute about this.

That's why I think this hate crimes issue is so important. That's why I convened the first White House Conference on Hate Crimes a year and a half ago. Since then, I would like to say, we have substantially increased the number of FBI agents working on these crimes. We have successfully pros-

ecuted a number of serious cases. We have formed local hate crimes working groups in U.S. Attorneys' offices around the country.

But this is a significant problem. In 1997, the last year for which we have statistics, over 8,000 hate crime incidents were reported in the United States. That's almost one an hour—almost one an hour.

So, what are we going to do about it? I would like to mention—we've already talked about the law and I'll say more about that in a minute, but first of all, let me mention three other things. I've asked the Justice Department and the Education Department to include in their annual report card on school safety crucial information on hate crimes among young people both at and away from schools, not only to warn but to educate.

Secondly, I'm asking the Department of Education to collect important data for the first time on hate crimes and bias on college campuses. Another cruel irony, isn't it—college, the place where we're supposed to have the most freedom, the place where we're supposed to be the most rational, the place where we're supposed to think the highest thoughts with the greatest amount of space. We have significant hate crime problems there, and we need to shine the light on that.

Third—I'm very pleased about this—we are going to have a public/private partnership to help reach middle school students to discuss this whole issue with them and talk about tolerance, why it is a moral, as well as a practical imperative. And the partnership includes AT&T, Court TV—good for them—[laughter]—the National Middle School Association, the Anti-Defamation League, Cable in the Classrooms, as well as the Departments of Education and Justice. I would like to thank them all, because we have to not only punish bad things when they happen, the larger mission is to change the mind, the heart, and the habits of our people when they're young to keep bad things from happening.

Finally, let me join the others—the attorney general and the bishop—in saying, Congress should pass this law this year. The

Federal laws already punish some crimes committed against people on the basis of race or religion or national origin, but as the attorney general made so clear, not all crimes committed for that purpose. This would strengthen and expand the ability of the Justice Department by removing needless jurisdictional requirements for existing crimes and giving Federal prosecutors the ability to prosecute hate crimes committed because of sexual orientation, gender, or disability, along with race and religion.

Now, again I say, when we get exercised about these things, in particular, when someone dies in a horrible incident in America or when we see slaughter or ethnic cleansing abroad, we should remember that we defeat these things by teaching and by practicing a different way of life and by reacting vigorously when they occur within our own midst. That is what this is about. And we should remember, whenever we, ourselves, commit even a small slip, where we dehumanize or demonize someone else who is different from us, that every society must teach, practice, and react, if you want to make the most of the world toward which we are moving.

Our diversity is a godsend for us and the world of the 21st century. But it is also the potential for the old, haunting demons that are hard to root out of the human spirit. The "Hate Crimes Prevention Act" would be important, substantively and symbolically, to send a message to ourselves and to the world that we are going into the 21st century determined to preach and to practice what is right.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:51 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Andrew Ketterer, Maine attorney general; Rt. Rev. Jane Holmes Dixon, Suffragan Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Washington, DC, who introduced the President; and President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

## **Memorandum on Hate Crimes in Schools and College Campuses**

*April 6, 1999*

*Memorandum for the Attorney General, the Secretary of Education*

*Subject: Annual Reports on Hate Crimes in Schools and College Campuses*

One of the greatest challenges facing our Nation is to ensure that all Americans share the same opportunities, regardless of their race, color, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, gender, or disability.

To meet this challenge, we must ensure that our Nation's laws fully protect all its citizens. That is why I have called on the Congress to pass legislation to strengthen existing Federal hate crimes laws by removing needless barriers to prosecuting violent crimes based on race, color, religion, or national origin and expanding the law to cover acts of violence committed because of a person's sexual orientation, gender, or disability. This legislation will assist us in responding to the kind of heinous and cowardly hate crimes we have witnessed in the last year.

At the same time, we must learn more about the prevalence of hate crimes and other acts of intolerance—especially among our young people, whose attitudes and experiences will shape the America of the 21st century. In order to better understand the problem of hate crimes and intolerance among young people, I direct the Attorney General and the Secretary of Education to include in their annual report card on school safety a section on hate crimes among young people, covering crimes committed both during and after school. In addition, I direct the Secretary of Education, with appropriate assistance from the Attorney General, to collect data on hate crimes and bias on college campuses for periodic publication.

These steps will help us better understand the problems of bigotry we face among young people, and to improve the ways we respond

to these problems, through improved curricula, after-school youth programs, and similar measures. At the same time, our proposed legislation will help to ensure that when hate crimes do occur, they are prosecuted as effectively as possible. I appreciate your commitment to improving the enforcement of this Nation's laws and to fighting bigotry among young people and others, and I look forward to your continuing leadership in these areas.

**William J. Clinton**

**Remarks to the United States  
Institute of Peace**

*April 7, 1999*

Thank you, Richard. Max Kampelman, thank you for being with me today. And I thank the U.S. Institute for Peace for arranging this presentation on, as I'm sure all of you know, relatively short notice.

I'd also like to acknowledge the presence here with me today of Secretary Albright and Ambassador Barshefsky, National Security Adviser Berger, and two important former members of my national security team, Tony Lake and Tara Sonenshine, who is a senior adviser here to the Institute for Peace.

I would like to begin just by thanking this body for what you do every day to help our administration and the Congress and the American people think through the most challenging foreign policy issues of our time. And I thank you in particular for your determination to reach out to a younger generation of Americans to talk to them about the importance of these issues and the world they will live in.

In February I gave a speech in San Francisco about America's role in the century to come. We all know it's an extraordinary moment when there is no overriding threat to our security, when no great power need feel that any other is a military threat, when freedom is expanding, and open markets and technology are raising living standards on every continent, bringing the world closer together in countless ways.

But I also argued that globalization is not an unmixed blessing. In fact, the benefits of globalization, openness and opportunity, de-

pend on the very things globalization alone cannot guarantee: peace, democracy, the stability of markets, social justice, the protection of health and the environment.

Globalization can bring repression and human rights violations and suffering into the open, but it cannot prevent them. It can promote integration among nations but also lead to disintegration within them. It can bring prosperity on every continent but still leave many, many people behind. It can give people the modern tools of the 21st century, but it cannot purge their hearts of the primitive hatreds that may lead to the misuse of those tools. Only national governments, working together, can reap the full promise and reduce the problems of the 21st century.

The United States, as the largest and strongest country in the world at this moment—largest in economic terms and military terms—has the unavoidable responsibility to lead in this increasingly interdependent world, to try to help meet the challenges of this new era.

Clearly, our first challenge is to build a more peaceful world, one that will apparently be dominated by ethnic and religious conflicts we once thought of—primitive but which Senator Moynihan, for example, has referred to now as postmodern. We know that we cannot stop all such conflicts. But when the harm is great and when our values and interests are at stake and when we have the means to make a difference, we should try.

That is what we and our NATO allies are doing in Kosovo, trying to end the horrible war there, trying to aid the struggling democracies of southeastern Europe, all of whom are threatened by the violence, the hatred, the human exodus President Milosevic's brutal campaign has unleashed. We are determined to stay united and to persist until we prevail.

It is not enough now for Mr. Milosevic to say that his forces will cease fire in Kosovo, denied its freedom and devoid of its people. He must withdraw his forces, let the refugees return, permit the deployment of an international security force. Nothing less will bring peace with security to the people of Kosovo.

The second challenge I discussed in San Francisco in February is that of bringing our former adversaries Russia and China into the international system as open, prosperous, and stable nations. Today I want to speak especially about our relationship with China, one that is being tested and hotly debated today as China's Premier, Zhu Rongji, travels to Washington.

Of course, we all know that perceptions affect policies. And American perceptions about China have often changed in this century. In the early 1900's, most Americans saw China through the eyes of missionaries seeking open hearts or traders seeking open markets. During World War II, China was our ally, during the Korean war, our adversary. During the cold war, we debated whether China was a solid stone in the monolith of world communism or a country with interests and traditions that could make it a counterweight to Soviet power.

More recently, many Americans have looked to China to see either the world's next great capitalist tiger and an enormous mother lode of economic opportunity for American companies and American workers or the world's largest great Communist dragon and next great threat to freedom and security.

For a long time, it seems to me, we have argued about China with competing caricatures. Is this a country to be engaged or isolated? Is this a country beyond our power to influence or a country that is ours to gain and ours to lose? Now we hear that China is a country to be feared. A growing number of people say that it is the next great threat to our security and our well-being.

What about this argument? Well, those who say it point out, factually, that if China's economy continues to grow on its present trajectory, it will be the world's largest in the next century. They argue, correctly, that the Chinese Government often defines its interests in ways sharply divergent from ours. They are concerned, rightly, by Chinese missiles aimed at Taiwan and at others. From this they conclude that China is or will be our enemy.

They claim it is building up its military machine for aggression and using the profits of our trade to pay for it. They urge us, therefore, to contain China, to deny it access to

our markets, our technology, our investment, and to bolster the strength of our allies in Asia to counter the threat a strong China will pose in the 21st century.

What about that scenario? Clearly, if it chooses to do so, China could pursue such a course, pouring much more of its wealth into military might and into traditional great power geopolitics. Of course, this would rob it of much of its future prosperity, and it is far from inevitable that China will choose this path. Therefore, I would argue that we should not make it more likely that China will choose this path by acting as if that decision has already been made.

I say this over and over again, but when I see this China debate in America, with people talking about how we've got to contain China, and they present a terrible threat to us in the future and it's inevitable and how awful it is, I remind people who work with us that the same kind of debate is going on in China, people saying, "The Americans do not want us to emerge. They do not want us to have our rightful position in the world. Their whole strategy is designed to keep us down on the farm."

And we have to follow a different course. We cannot afford caricatures. I believe we have to work for the better future that we want, even as we remain prepared for any outcome. This approach will clearly put us at odds with those who believe America must always have a great enemy. How can you be the great force for good in the world and justify all the things you do if you don't have a great enemy?

I don't believe that. I believe we have to work for the best but do it in a way that will never leave us unprepared in the event that our efforts do not succeed.

Among the first decisions I made in 1993 was to preserve the alliances that kept the peace during the cold war. That meant in Asia, we kept 100,000 troops there and maintained robust alliances with Japan, Korea, Thailand, Australia, and the Philippines. We did this and have done it not to contain China or anyone else but to give confidence to all that the potential threats to Asia's security will remain just that, potential, and that America remains committed to being involved with Asia and to Asia's stability.



We've maintained our strong, unofficial ties to a democratic Taiwan while upholding our "one China" policy. We've encouraged both sides to resolve their differences peacefully and to have increased contact. We've made it clear that neither can count on our acceptance if it violates these principles.

We know that in the past decade, China has increased its deployment of missiles near Taiwan. When China tested some of those missiles in 1996, tensions grew in the Taiwan Strait. We demonstrated then, with the deployment of our carriers, that America will act to prevent a miscalculation there. Our interests lie in peace and stability in Taiwan and in China, in the strait and in the region, and in a peaceful resolution of the differences. We will do what is necessary to maintain our interests.

Now, we have known since the early 1980's that China has nuclear armed missiles capable of reaching the United States. Our defense posture has and will continue to take account of that reality. In part, because of our engagement, China has, at best, only marginally increased its deployed nuclear threat in the last 15 years. By signing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, China has accepted constraints on its ability to modernize its arsenal at a time when the nuclear balance remains overwhelmingly in our favor. China has fewer than two dozen long-range nuclear weapons today; we have over 6,000.

We are determined to prevent the diversion of technology and sensitive information to China. The restrictions we place on our exports to China are tougher than those applied to any other major exporting country in the world.

When we first learned, in 1995, that a compromise had occurred at our weapons labs, our first priority was to find the leak, to stop it, and to prevent further damage. When the Energy Department and the FBI discovered wider vulnerabilities, we launched a comprehensive effort to address them. Last year I issued a directive to dramatically strengthen security at the Energy labs. We have increased the Department's counterintelligence budget by fifteenfold since 1995.

But we need to be sure we're getting the job done. Last month I asked the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, an

independent, bipartisan body chaired by former Senator Warren Rudman, to review the security threat and the adequacy of the measures we have taken to address it. It is vital that we meet this challenge with firmness and openness but without fear.

The issue is how to respond to this. I believe we should not look at China through rose-colored glasses, nor should we look through a glass darkly to see an image that distorts China's strength and ignores its complexities. We need to see China clearly, its progress and its problem, its system and its strains, its policies and its perceptions of us, of itself, of the world. Indeed, we should apply a bit of universal wisdom that China's late leader, Deng Xiaoping, used to preach, we should seek the truth from facts.

In the last 20 years, China has made incredible progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of absolute poverty. But consider this: Its working age population is increasing by more than 10 million people, the equivalent of the State of Illinois, every year. Tens of millions of Chinese families are migrating from the countryside, where they see no future, to the city where only some find work. Due in part to the Asian economic crisis, China's economic growth is slowing just when it needs to be rising to create jobs for the unemployed and to maintain support for economic reform.

For all the progress of China's reforms, private enterprise still accounts for less than 20 percent of the nonfarm economy. Much of China's landscape is still dominated by unprofitable polluting state industries. China state banks are still making massive loans to struggling state firms, the sector of the economy least likely to succeed.

Now, I've met with Premier Zhu before. I know, and I think all of you know, that he is committed to making necessary, far-reaching changes. He and President Jiang are working to reform banks and state enterprises and to fight corruption. Indeed, one of China's highest public security officials was arrested several weeks ago on corruption charges.

They also know that in the short run, reform will cause more unemployment, and that can cause unrest. But so far, they've been unwilling to open up China's political

system because they see that as contributing to instability when, in fact, giving people a say in their decisions actually provides a peaceful outlet for venting frustration.

China's biggest challenge in the coming years will be to maintain stability and growth at home by meeting, not stifling, the growing demands of its people for openness and accountability. It is easy for us to say; for them, it is a daunting task.

What does all this mean for us? Well, if we've learned anything in the last few years from Japan's long recession and Russia's current economic troubles, it is that the weaknesses of great nations can pose as big a challenge to America as their strengths. So as we focus on the potential challenge that a strong China could present to the United States in the future, let us not forget the risk of a weak China, beset by internal conflicts, social dislocation, and criminal activity, becoming a vast zone of instability in Asia.

Despite Beijing's best efforts to rein in these problems, we have seen the first danger signs: free-wheeling Chinese enterprises selling weapons abroad; the rise in China of organized crime; stirrings of ethnic tensions and rural unrest; the use of Chinese territory for heroin trafficking; and even piracy of ships at sea. In short, we're seeing in China the kinds of problems a society can face when it is moving away from the rule of fear but is not yet firmly rooted in the rule of law.

The solutions fundamentally lie in the choices China makes. But I think we would all agree, we have an interest in seeking to make a difference and in not pretending that the outcome is foreordained. We can't do that simply by confronting China or trying to contain her. We can only deal with the challenge if we continue a policy of principled, purposeful engagement with China's leaders and China's people.

Our long-term strategy must be to encourage the right kind of development in China; to help China grow at home into a strong, prosperous, and open society, coming together, not falling apart; to integrate China into the institutions that promote global norms on proliferation, trade, the environment, and human rights. We must build on opportunities for cooperation with China where we agree, even as we strongly defend

our interests and values where we disagree. That is the purpose of engagement. Not to insulate our relationship from the consequences of Chinese actions but to use our relationship to influence China's actions in a way that advances our values and our interests.

That is what we have done for the last 6 years, with the following tangible results: In no small measure as a result of our engagement, China helped us to convince North Korea to freeze the production of plutonium and, for now, to refrain from more missile tests. It has been our partner in averting a nuclear confrontation in South Asia. Not long ago, China was selling dangerous weapons and technologies with impunity. Since the 1980's, it has joined the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Biological Weapons Convention, and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and accepted the safeguards, reporting requirements, and inspection systems that go with each.

We have also convinced China not to provide new assistance to Iran's nuclear program, to stop selling Iran antiship cruise missiles, and to halt assistance to unsafeguarded nuclear facilities in Pakistan. Now it's important that China join the Missile Technology Control Regime, a step President Jiang agreed to consider at last year's summit in Beijing.

We also have an interest in integrating China into the world trading system and in seeing it join the World Trade Organization on clearly acceptable, commercial terms. This is a goal America has been working toward in a bipartisan fashion for 13 years now. Getting this done and getting it done right is profoundly in our national interests. It is not a favor to China; it is the best way to level the playing field.

China already has broad access to our markets, as you can see from any perusal of recent trade figures. If China accepts the responsibilities that come with WTO membership, that will give us broad access to China's markets, while accelerating its internal reforms and propelling it toward acceptance of the rule of law. The bottom line is this: If China is willing to play by the global rules

of trade, it would be an inexplicable mistake for the United States to say no.

We have an interest as well in working with China to preserve the global environment. Toward the middle of the next century, China will surpass the United States as the world's largest emitter of greenhouse gases. At last year's summit in China, I made it clear there can be no meaningful solution to this problem unless China is a part of it. But I also emphasized, as I do over and over again, with sometimes mixed effect, that rapidly developing technologies now make it possible for China—indeed, for India, for any other developing economy—to be environmentally responsible without sacrificing economic growth.

That challenge is at the top of Vice President Gore's agenda on the forum on environment and development he shares with Premier Zhu. It will be meeting this week.

We have been encouraging the development of clean natural gas in China and cleaner technologies for burning coal. We've been working with China on a study of emissions trading, a tool that has cut pollution at low cost in the United States and which could do the same for China. In the information age, China need not, indeed, China will not be able to grow its economy by clinging to industrial age energy practices.

Finally, let me say we have an interest in encouraging China to respect the human rights of its people and to give them a chance to shape the political destiny of their country. This is an interest that cuts to the heart of our concerns about China's future.

Because wealth is generated by ideas today, China will be less likely to succeed if its people cannot exchange information freely. China also will be less likely to succeed if it does not build the legal and political foundation to compete for global capital, less likely to succeed if its political system does not gain the legitimacy that comes from democratic choice.

China's leaders believe that significant political reform carries enormous risk of instability at this moment in their history. We owe it to any country to give a respectful listen to their stated policy about such matters. But the experience of the rest of Asia during this present economic crisis shows that the risks

of delaying reform are greater than the risks of embracing it.

As Indonesia learned, you cannot deal with social resentment by denying people the right to voice it. As Korea and Thailand have shown the world, expressed dissent is far less dangerous than repressed dissent. Both countries are doing better now because their elected governments have the legitimacy to pursue reform.

In fact, almost every goal to which China's leaders are dedicated—from maintaining stability to rooting out corruption, to reuniting peacefully with Taiwan—would actually be advanced if they embraced greater openness and accountability.

We have promoted that goal by airing differences candidly and directly with China's leaders, by encouraging closer ties between American and Chinese people. Those ties have followed in the wake of official contacts and have the potential to bring change.

The people-to-people ties have made it possible for over 100,000 Chinese students and scholars to study in America and thousands of American teachers and scholars—students—to go to China. They have enabled American nongovernmental organizations to help people in China set up NGO's of their own. They have allowed Americans to work with local governments, universities, and citizens' groups in China to save wetlands and forests, to manage urban growth, to support China's first private schools, to hook up schools to the Internet, to train journalists, to promote literacy for poor women, to make loans for Tibetan entrepreneurs, to begin countless projects that are sparking the growth of China's civil society. They have permitted Chinese lawyers, judges, and legal scholars to come to America to study our system.

Now, we don't assume for a moment that this kind of engagement alone can give rise to political reform in China, but despite the obstacles they face, the Chinese people clearly enjoy more freedom, in where they work and where they live and where they go, than they did a decade ago.

China has seen the emergence of political associations, consumer groups, tenant organizations, newspapers that expose corruption, and experiments in village democracy. It has

seen workers demanding representation and a growing number of people seeking the right to form political parties, despite the persecution they face. I met with many such agents of change when I visited China last year.

Of course, it is precisely because these changes are meaningful that the Chinese Government is pushing back. Its actions may be aimed at individuals, but they are clearly designed to send a message to all Chinese that they should not test the limits of political freedom. The message they send the world, however, is quite different. It is one of insecurity, not strength. We often see that a tight grip is actually a sign of a weak hand.

Now, we have made it clear to China's leaders that we think it's simply wrong to arrest people whose only offense has been to engage in organized and peaceful political expression. That right is universally recognized and democratic nations have a duty to defend it. That is why we are seeking support at the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva for a resolution on human rights in China.

We will also urge China to embrace the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in word and in deed. We will keep pressing the Congress to fund programs that promote the rule of law in China. We will keep working to promote a dialog between China and the Dalai Lama and respect for Tibet's cultural and religious heritage.

But there is one thing that we will not do. We will not change our policy in a way that isolates China from the global forces that have begun to empower the Chinese people to change their society and build a better future, for that would leave the people of China with less access to information, less contact with the democratic world, and more resistance from their government to outside influence and ideas.

In all these areas, the debate China's policy has sparked in our country can be constructive by reminding us that we still face challenges in the world that require our vigilance. It can also remind the Chinese Government that the relationship between our two countries depends in large measure not only on the actions of the President and the executive branch but on the support of the American people and our Congress, which cannot be taken for granted.

But as the next Presidential election approaches, we cannot allow a healthy argument to lead us toward a campaign-driven cold war with China, for that would have tragic consequences: an America riven by mistrust and bitter accusations; an end to diplomatic contact that has produced tangible gains for our people; a climate of mistrust that hurts Chinese-Americans and undermines the exchanges that are opening China to the world.

No one could possibly gain from that except for the most rigid, backward-looking elements in China itself. Remember what I said at the outset: The debate we're having about China today in the United States is mirrored by a debate going on in China about the United States. And we must be sensitive to how we handle this and responsible.

I know the vast majority of Americans and Members of Congress don't want this to happen. I will do everything in our power to see that it does not, so that we stay focused on our vital interests and the real challenges ahead.

We have much to be concerned about: There is North Korea, South Asia, the potential for tensions in the Taiwan Strait, and the South China Sea; there is the tragic plight of political prisoners; the possibility, also, that China will not realize its growth potential, that it will become unstable because of the distressed economy and angry people.

But we have every reason to approach our challenges with confidence and with patience. Our country, after all, now, is at the height of its power and the peak of its prosperity. Democratic values are ascendant throughout much of the world. And while we cannot know where China is heading for sure, the forces pulling China toward integration and openness are more powerful today than ever before. And these are the only forces that can make China a truly successful power, meeting the demands of its people and exercising appropriate and positive influence in the larger world in the 21st century.

Such a China would indeed be stronger, but it also would be more at peace with itself and at ease with its neighbors. It would be a good thing for the Chinese people and for the American people.

This has been the lodestar of our policy for the last 6 years—a goal that is consistent with our interests and that keeps faith with our values, an objective that we will continue to pursue, with your help and understanding, in the months and years ahead.

This visit by Premier Zhu is very important. The issues that are raised from time to time, which cause tensions in our relationship, they are also very important. But I ask you, at this institute, not to let the American people or American policymakers or American politicians in a political season lose sight of the larger interests we have in seeing that this very great country has the maximum possible chance to emerge a more stable, freer, more prosperous, more constructive partner with the United States in the new century.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:33 a.m. in the East Room at the Mayflower Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Richard H. Solomon, president and Max M. Kampelman, vice chair, U.S. Institute of Peace; President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro); Premier Zhu Rongji, former President Deng Xiaoping, and President Jiang Zemin of China.

### **Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion on Equal Pay April 7, 1999**

*[The First Lady opened the program with brief remarks concerning wage discrepancies between men and women and then introduced the President.]*

**The President.** Thank you. That is the truth. *[Laughter]* But Hillary didn't tell you the rest of the story. Senator Harkin, whose wonderful wife, Ruth, was also a part of our administration for several years, she has often made more money than her husband. And so we decided that maybe we should become part of a small but vocal radical caucus saying we shouldn't stop at equal pay; we like it when our wives make more money than we do. *[Laughter]* We have enjoyed the benefits of that.

I would like to thank Senator Harkin and Eleanor Holmes Norton for being here and for being longtime champions of this cause.

I thank Ida Castro, our EEOC Chair, the local officials who are here, and Secretary Herman, who bears a lot of the responsibilities for what we are trying to achieve, for her work.

I'd like to make just a few brief points. Hillary has made most of the points that need to be made, and we all know here we're preaching to the saved in trying to get a message out to the country. But I'd like to point out as I tried to do in the State of the Union that the time in which we are living now in terms of our economic prosperity is virtually unprecedented. We had 4.2 percent unemployment last month.

I remember a meeting I had—and huge argument I had in December of 1992 when I had been elected but not inaugurated President, about how low we could get unemployment before inflation would go up. And all the traditional economists said, "Man, when you get below 6 percent, you know, you will just see what will happen." And the American people turned out to be a lot more productive, a lot more efficient; technology turned out to be a lot more helpful; we were in a much more competitive environment. So now, we have 4.2 percent unemployment, lowest rate since 1970, lowest peacetime unemployment since 1957, 18 million new jobs.

But we still have some significant long-term challenges in this country. We have pockets of America—in rural America, in urban America, in our medium-size industrial cities, our Native American reservations—which have not felt any of the impact of the economic recovery. We still have substantial long-term challenges to Social Security, to Medicare. And we still have a significant fact of inequality in the pay of women and men.

And the central point I would like to make is that we should not allow the political climate or anything else to deter us from concentrating our minds on the fact that this is a precious gift that the American people have received, even though they have earned it. Countries rarely have conditions like this. If we can't use this moment to deal with these long-term challenges, including the equal-pay challenge, when will we ever get around to it?

That is the message I want America to send back to Washington. Yes, have your disagreements. Yes, have your fights. Yes, conduct your campaigns. Yes, do all this. But for goodness sakes, realize that this is, at a minimum, the opportunity of a generation, maybe more. And every single problem that we can take off the table for our successors and for our children is an obligation we ought to shoulder and get the job done. That's what this is about.

And those of us who are old enough to remember what the economy was like in the 1970's with the long gas lines, what it was like in the 1980's when we had the so-called bicoastal economy and my State and Senator Harkin's State had double-digit unemployment in county after county—I'm telling you, when times get tough and then you go around and try to talk to people about problems like this, their eyes glaze over because even the people who would benefit, they're just trying to keep body and soul together. They're worried about holding on to what they have. We have an opportunity now to make a better America for our children, for all of our children.

The second point I want to make is the one I made jokingly in the story about Tom and me having the privilege of living with women who make more money than we do. And that is that this is not just a women's issue. The women who are discriminated against often are in families, raising children with husbands who are also hurt if their wives work hard and don't have the benefits of equal pay. A lot of the women who are single mothers are out there working and they have boy children as well as girl children. This is not just a gender issue, and men should be very interested in this.

I can say furthermore that I believe that it would be good for our overall economy. You know, you hear all these problems that they say it will cause the economy if you do this. All this stuff is largely not true. I mean, every time we try to make a change to have a stronger society, whether it's a raise in the minimum wage or cleaning up the environment or passing the family leave law, the people that are against it say the same thing. And we now have decades of experience in trying to improve our social fabric. And

America has had a particular genius in figuring out how to do these things in a way that would permit us to generate more economic opportunity and more jobs and more advances.

I'd like to make a third point not in my notes, but Hillary made me think of it. There are these people now who are out there saying, "Well, there really isn't much of an equal pay problem because it's almost exclusively confined to women who have children. And women who have children have to have more intermittent periods in the workplace"—you've heard all the arguments—"and once you factor that out, well, there's no problem."

Well, I have two reactions to that. First of all, if you take that argument to its logical conclusion, we would be depopulating America before you know it. No one else has really figured out any way to bring children around, as far as I know. [*Laughter*]

Secondly, if that is true, it still doesn't make it right. If you give the people the entire argument—which I don't think the analysis supports—but if you did, what does that mean? It means that an important part of the equal pay battle should be strengthening the family and medical leave law, for example, something I've been trying to do without success ever since we signed the first bill. It ought to apply to more companies. It ought to be more extensive. It ought to cover more situations. We've proved that we can do this without hurting the economy.

And if you believe that having children is a significant factor here and if you believe as I do that's the most important work of any society, then why shouldn't we continue with something that's done so much good, this family leave law, to find other ways to do it, to find other incentives for flex-time, all kinds of things we could be doing if this is a problem.

Now, finally, let's talk a little bit about what I think we can do about this right now. Earlier this year, I asked Congress to pass two measures to strengthen our wage discrimination laws and to boost enforcement of existing ones. I ask Congress again to pass the \$14 million equal pay initiative that's in our balanced budget to help the EEOC identify and respond to wage discrimination, to educate employers and workers about their

rights and responsibilities. You'll hear some pretty impressive people talk about that on our panel in a moment. And to help bring more women into better-paying jobs.

Again, I ask the Congress to pass the "Pay-check Fairness Act" sponsored by Senator Daschle and Congresswoman DeLauro, which would put employers on notice that wage discrimination against women is just as unacceptable as discrimination based on race or ethnicity. Under current law, those who are denied equal pay because of race can receive compensatory and punitive damages. This new legislation would give women the same right. It will make a difference. It would protect employees who share salary information from retaliation. It would expand training for EEOC workers, strengthen research, establish an award for exemplary workers.

We can do more. Today I'm pleased to announce that we want to strengthen our legislation by requiring the EEOC to determine what new information on workers' salaries they need to improve enforcement of wage discrimination laws and to find a way to collect that information. The new provision would call on the EEOC to issue a new rule within 18 months to gather, in the most effective and efficient way possible, pay data from companies based on race, sex, and national origin of employees.

Addressing wage discrimination takes courage, as our panelists can tell you. It takes courage as an employee to speak out, to gather evidence, to make the case. It takes courage as an employer to recognize problems in pay equity and take steps to remedy them.

Just recently—let me just mention the experience of one of our panelists—we saw this courage among the administrators and women scientists at MIT, one of our country's most outstanding institutions of higher education. Together, they looked at the cold, hard facts about disparities in everything from lab space to annual salary. They sought to make things right, and they told the whole public the truth about it, which is a rare thing. And I appreciate what they did. I commend them. I hope their success and their example can be replicated throughout our country.

Now again I say, this should not be a partisan issue. It should be an American issue. And as you argue through these matters this year, I ask you, every time you are in contact with any person in a position to vote on this in Congress or influence a vote in Congress, ask them this simple question: If we don't deal with this now, when will we ever get around to it?

Thank you very much.

*[Secretary of Labor Alexis Herman thanked the President and First Lady and made brief remarks. She then introduced the roundtable participants and each made brief remarks on equal pay issues.]*

**The President.** I would like to just start. We're going to do a little roundtable and just give the participants a chance to answer a few questions and amplify on their remarks. And taking account of Sanya Tyler's voice problems, I still want to ask her one question, because obviously the situation at Howard and the situation at MIT were resolved in different ways.

After you won the lawsuit, did you feel that the administration treated you and other people who were in the same situation fairly? Did you feel like that the work environment was worse, and did you believe that the program also began to get more support, as well as on the wages? Was title IX and the other efforts you made, did you get more support for the program, as well as for your income?

*[Ms. Tyler, head coach of women's basketball at Howard University, had sued because the university hired a head coach for men's basketball and paid him 4 times her salary. She won and was awarded \$2.39 million and remained in her coaching position. She expressed pride in Howard University's reaction to the suit, indicating that the administration had expressed greater openness to women's participation not only in the sports but in many leadership areas at the university. The First Lady then introduced Professor Nancy Hopkins, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), who stated that 5 years ago there were only 15 tenured women in MIT's School of Science. The discrimination against women at MIT was subtle and difficult to identify. She stated that an incident upset her, and she wrote a strong*

*letter to MIT's president. She consulted a fellow female faculty member on the tone of the letter, and her colleague asked if she, too, could sign it. After polling others, the female faculty all signed the letter, and the administration was very supportive. The women gathered data on the problem, and the dean took immediate action to institute changes. The First Lady stated that often these problems are subtle and not readily apparent, and she commended MIT for its prompt action.]*

**The President.** You know, the question that I wanted to ask, because this MIT thing is so unusual, is, do you believe that they knew it was going on before? And if they didn't know it was going on before—but all the women you went to had immediately related in the same way you did and signed up—how did it happen? Because I think this is something that data may not tell you. But I think this is what is really important, because there may be a lot of organizations out there where this sort of just creeps in, but the people now running these organizations don't know it.

And what I'm hoping is that—it's not like—it may not be as overt as it was when Carolyn was in the work force, so how do you think this happened? It's very impressive that the president said, "Okay, let's go do the right thing." But that raises the question of how did it happen in the first place?

*[Professor Hopkins stated that this was the last frontier of the civil rights/affirmative action process. She stated her belief that it wasn't conscious, and the women themselves weren't aware of it. It was a subtle and almost unconscious gender bias that was small in each instance, but it accumulated to real pay.]*

**The President.** Let me ask a specific question. Do you think—if there was no deliberate policy to hire all these people at a lower salary, and then not to raise them at some point to a comparable salary, and there was never a systematic policy, do you believe that—here's what I'm trying to get at—is there a still, sort of in the minds of at least the men who are making these hiring or pay decisions, this notion that there's a marketplace out there, and it's a big deal for a woman to be a tenured professor at MIT?

And therefore, this was a market-based decision; this is what I can get this talent for; and this is what I'm going to pay? Is that what you think happened? And if not, what is it that you think happened?

*[Professor Hopkins said men approached these decisions differently than women, and women had to share the decisionmaking power. The First Lady then introduced Carolyn Gantt, an employee at a Washington, DC, senior center, who during her career had witnessed men with the same or lesser qualifications in jobs receiving more benefits and higher pay. Mrs. Clinton asked how she became aware of the situation. Ms. Gantt answered that she had contacts in the community who shared information with her and that she had access to lists of how much individuals in her organization were paid and that, combined with her knowledge of individuals' duties and qualifications, led her to recognize the disparity in compensation. After going to the organization's board, she got the promotion but became a pariah. When she moved into a new position in the District of Columbia Government, she encountered the same situation.]*

**The President.** Let me just use this remarkable woman's case as an illustration of a point I made in my remarks, that this is something that imposes great economic costs on the society as a whole.

You have seven children, right?

**Ms. Gantt.** I still have seven, but they're grown. *[Laughter]*

**The President.** And you're still working part-time? And how old are you?

**Ms. Gantt.** Do you really want me—*[Laughter]*

**The President.** Let me ask you this. Let me ask you another question. You are—

**Ms. Gantt.** —*[inaudible]* category. *[Laughter]*

**The President.** I know I shouldn't have asked. *[Laughter]* The reason I ask you is because you look so much younger than you are. *[Laughter]* But let me ask—the point I wanted to make is, she has been for some time eligible for Social Security. Here's the point I want to make about the issue. You know we're having this big Social Security debate here now, and we're in an argument



in the Congress about how to save Social Security. Why? Because the number of people over 65 are going to double between now and the year 2030. And the Trust Fund runs out of money in 35 years.

And for it to be stable, it needs to last for 75 years, but in addition to that, we need to lift the earnings limit for people who work when they're over 65, I think, so they can still draw their Social Security, number one. And number two, we need to have a remedial program to deal with the fact that the poverty rate among single elderly women is twice, almost twice the general poverty rate among seniors in this country.

Why? A lot of it is because of stories like this. So you've either got people like this remarkable lady who is healthy enough and, as you can see, more than quite alert and on top of things and energetic, who continue to work on and on, or you have people who can't do that, and they are twice as likely to be living in poverty even when they draw Social Security.

This is another of the consequences of this. And so the rest of you are going to have to pay to fix this unless you just want to let it go on, and I don't think since we have some money to fix it now, I presume none of us want to let it go on, and we'd like to fix it.

But we should understand that none of this—this kind of discrimination is not free to the rest of us, as well. Just because you haven't felt it directly doesn't mean that you're not weakened and lessened because of the quality of life, the strength of your society, the fabric of it is not eroded by this. And that's the point I wanted—I didn't want to embarrass her about her age, but I think it's important that you understand that this is a cost imposed on the whole society. And one of the big efforts we're going to make this year in this saving Social Security is to do something about this dramatic difference in the poverty rate. And it would be much, much lower if no one had ever had the experiences you just heard described.

*[Secretary Herman continued the discussion saying the pension gap was even greater than the 75-cents-to-every-dollar gap for regular wages. She pointed out that only 40 percent of women have pension coverage. The First Lady then introduced Patricia Higgins, a*

*nurse who also encountered wage discrimination in her field, who discussed the problem and explained how medical advances presented increasingly complex issues for nurses. As her career advanced, she realized that retirement savings were not sufficient. She noted her daughter was planning to be a nurse, and she wanted things to be better for her. Secretary Herman stated that there are policies in place in many institutions but practices inside these institutions often failed to support the policies and procedures. She said the administration was supporting legislation to share salary information without fear of reprisal and asked Ms. Tyler if she thought that would be helpful. Ms. Tyler stated that, in her case, pursuing the issue in court had been very successful and, in the end, yielded solid results.]*

**The President.** Thank you very much. Let me say on behalf of all of us, we're delighted that you're here. We especially thank Senator Harkin and Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton for their leadership, and we thank our panelists. They were all terrific.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The roundtable began at 1:53 p.m. in Presidential Hall (formerly Room 450) in the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, the President referred to Title IX—Prohibition of Sex Discrimination, part of Public Law 92-318, the Education Amendments of 1972. The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the full text of remarks of the First Lady and the roundtable participants.

## **Proclamation 7179—National Equal Pay Day, 1999**

*April 7, 1999*

*By the President of the United States  
of America*

### **A Proclamation**

We live in a time of remarkable promise. Our Nation's economy is the strongest we have experienced in a generation, creating more than 18 million new jobs since 1993 and the fastest growth in real wages in more than two decades. American women have contributed greatly to this record of success; unfortunately, they have not enjoyed an

equal share in the prosperity they have helped to create.

The typical woman who works full-time year-round earns approximately 75 cents for every dollar the typical man earns. An African American woman earns just 65 cents and a Hispanic woman earns 55 cents for each dollar that a white man earns. In the course of a week, this pay gap can mean one less bag of groceries, skipping a trip to the doctor, missing a rent payment, or not being able to pay for day care. Over the course of a working lifetime, it can mean thousands of dollars, a smaller pension, and fewer savings to provide for a comfortable retirement. And when a working woman is denied equal pay, it doesn't just hurt her; it also hurts her family. In more than 10 million American households today, the mother is the only breadwinner.

Americans have always believed in justice and equality. We have always believed that those who work hard should be able to provide a decent living for themselves and their children. If we are to live up to those ideals, we must ensure that women do not suffer wage discrimination. We must continue vigorous enforcement of existing laws, such as the Equal Pay Act and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, so that no employer under-values or underpays the work performed by women. To strengthen Department of Labor and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission efforts to end wage discrimination and expand opportunities in the workplace for women, my Administration has included a \$14 million Equal Pay Initiative in my proposed balanced budget for fiscal year 2000. This initiative will provide more resources to identify wage discrimination, to educate workers and employers about their rights and responsibilities, and to bring more women into better-paying jobs. We will also work with the Congress to pass the proposed Pay-check Fairness Act—legislation designed to strengthen laws that prohibit wage discrimination.

As we observe National Equal Pay Day, let us reaffirm our commitment to justice and equality in the workplace, and let us build a Nation for the 21st century where the talents, efforts, and hard work of American

women will be rightly appreciated and fairly rewarded.

**Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton,** President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim April 8, 1999, as National Equal Pay Day. I call upon Government officials, law enforcement agencies, business leaders, educators, and the American people to recognize the full value of the skills and contributions of women in the labor force. I urge all employers to review their wage practices and to ensure that all their employees are paid equitably for their work.

**In Witness Whereof,** I have hereunto set my hand this seventh day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-third.

**William J. Clinton**

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., April 8, 1999]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on April 9.

**Letter to Congressional Leaders  
Reporting on Airstrikes Against  
Serbian Targets in the Federal  
Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and  
Montenegro)**

*April 7, 1999*

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

I reported to the Congress on March 26, 1999, on the participation of U.S. military forces in the series of air strikes conducted by NATO in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) in response to the FRY government's campaign of violence and repression against the ethnic Albanian population in Kosovo. Since my report on March 26, there have been dramatic and very serious developments in the FRY. Belgrade's sustained and accelerating repression is creating a humanitarian disaster of staggering dimensions. Estimates now are that well over one million Kosovars have been displaced from their homes and villages. At this time, more than

400,000 Kosovars are in Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro.

The worsening instability in Kosovo directly threatens peace in the region. We will continue to intensify our actions to achieve the objectives I described in my report to the Congress of March 26 and to support the international relief efforts being conducted in the region. I have directed U.S. military forces to deploy to Albania and Macedonia in order to support humanitarian disaster relief operations for the Kosovar refugees. These relief efforts will include delivering food and supplies, constructing shelters, providing coordination and assisting in logistics movement of displaced persons and relief supplies, and when necessary, providing protection for displaced persons and relief supplies. As a force protection measure, the U.S. military forces will be equipped for combat.

Separate from this effort, I have also ordered additional U.S. forces to Albania. These forces consist of rotary wing aircraft, artillery, and tactical missile systems and will be stationed in Albania to provide a deep strike task force to enhance NATO's ability to conduct effective air operations in the FRY. Approximately 2,500 soldiers and aviators will deploy as part of this task force. The mission of the force does not include deploying into the FRY.

It is not possible to predict how long either of these operations will continue. The duration of the deployments depend upon the course of events in Kosovo, and in particular, on Belgrade's conduct with respect to its campaign of ethnic cleansing and the duration of the threat posed to peace and security in the region. It is our objective to transfer responsibilities for the relief effort to other organizations over time, and to redeploy those U.S. forces, in all circumstances, as soon as the situation permits.

I have taken these actions pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct U.S. foreign relations and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive. In doing so, I have taken into account the views and support expressed by the Congress in S. Con. Res. 21 and H. Con. Res. 42.

I am providing this report as part of my efforts to keep the Congress fully informed,

consistent with the War Powers Resolution. I appreciate the continued support of the Congress in this action.

Sincerely,

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to J. Dennis Hastert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Strom Thurmond, President pro tempore of the Senate.

### **Remarks at a Welcoming Ceremony for Premier Zhu Rongji of China**

*April 8, 1999*

Premier Zhu, Madam Lao, members of the Chinese delegation, distinguished guests. Premier Zhu, welcome to the White House and welcome to the United States. Your visit is an important event in the long relations between our people, a relationship that spans nearly the entire history of the United States. Before this city even existed, even before our Constitution was signed, China granted our newly independent Nation equal standing with the powers of Europe.

In the late 18th century, it took a ship sailing out of Boston over a year to make the voyage to China and back. Today, our people can communicate back and forth in less than the time needed to speak this sentence. But better communication has not always brought better comprehension.

We have done great things together, and we have disagreed on many occasions. For over two decades in this century, we had no conversations at all. That was not healthy for either China or the United States.

At the dawn of a new century, we now recognize that our interests coincide on many issues and diverge on some others but that we have a fundamental responsibility to speak with candor and listen with an open mind. And certainly, we can agree that China and the United States can best achieve our hopes in the next century if we continue to build a constructive strategic partnership, a relationship that allows us to make progress on the issues that matter to our people.

Those issues include stopping the spread of deadly weapons, building a secure and stable Asia-Pacific region, ensuring free and fair trade under international rules, promoting

economic growth while protecting the environment, embracing the universal principles of political freedom and human dignity.

Mr. Premier, under your leadership, China has pursued wise economic policies, striving to maintain growth, low inflation, a stable currency. You have fought hard against corruption, reinvented your government to make it more efficient, and reformed state-owned enterprises.

China's stability during the Asian economic crisis has been crucial to Asia's hopes for a recovery. That has been good for millions of Asians who depend upon China's economic health and for millions of Americans, from small investors to farmers to people who work for the many companies doing business in China. America has a stake in China's success, in a China that has overcome the challenges it faces at home, a China that is integrated into the institutions that promote global norms on proliferation, trade, and the environment, a China that respects human rights and promotes peace.

I am grateful for the Premier's visit, following up on President Jiang's visit here and my visit to China. I am very grateful for the opportunity it gives to both of us to address our potential and our differences in an honest, open, realistic manner.

Mr. Premier, I hope you and the American people learn a lot from each other as you travel across our Nation and speak in your candid, forthright way. I look forward to our discussion this morning. And again I say, welcome, you are very welcome to the United States.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:50 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House, where Premier Zhu was accorded a formal welcome with full military honors. In his remarks, he referred to Premier Zhu's wife, Lao An, and President Jiang Zemin of China. The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Premier Zhu.

## **The President's News Conference With Premier Zhu**

*April 8, 1999*

**President Clinton.** Good afternoon. Please be seated. Premier Zhu and members

of the Chinese delegation, I want to thank you again for coming to the United States. It is important for the leaders of America and China to meet regularly.

Today we were able to make progress in areas that benefit both the American and Chinese people. We had the chance to speak directly and openly on matters where we have disagreements. We reviewed our ongoing efforts to enhance the security of both our nations and to build world peace and stability in our efforts to seek peace on the Korean Peninsula, to work with India and Pakistan to curb their nuclear competition, to join in adherence to international agreements limiting the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

In that regard, let me say I hope that both our nations soon will ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty to end all nuclear testing.

We also discussed our common efforts to increase prosperity for both our nations. Economics is Premier Zhu's primary portfolio. With his leadership, China's economy has withstood Asia's financial turmoil and helped to mitigate its impact on other nations in the region. Now, with Asia's recovery underway but regional growth still fragile, Premier Zhu has been squarely addressing China's toughest economic challenges: reforming state-owned industries and financial institutions, rooting out corruption, bringing China into the information age, and expanding international trade. These efforts will benefit China and its trading partners, including America's businesses, workers, and farmers.

Our nations also will benefit from new cooperative initiatives we have agreed upon in recent days to develop a private housing market in China, to create a U.S.-China dialog on job training and labor rights, to support clean energy projects in China. Today we will sign a civil aviation agreement that will double passenger and cargo flights between our countries, bringing jobs and economic activity to both.

And after extensive efforts by our negotiators, China has agreed to direct all its government agencies to use only licensed computer software, which will greatly assist our software industry in China, now the world's

fifth-largest personal computer market. Additionally, we have reached an important agreement that will open China's markets for U.S. exports of citrus, meat products, and Pacific Northwest wheat, all highly important for our farmers.

I am also pleased we have made significant progress toward bringing China into the World Trade Organization on fair commercial terms, although we are not quite there yet. A fair WTO agreement will go far toward leveling the playing field for our companies and our workers in China's markets, will commit China to play by the rules of the international trading system, and bring China fully into that system in a way that will bring greater opportunity for its citizens and its industries as well.

Today we are issuing a joint statement recording the significant progress we have made on WTO and committing to work to resolve all remaining issues this year.

Ultimately, to succeed in the market-based, information-driven world economy, China must continue its efforts toward reform. Premier Zhu has worked very hard on them. There is still work to be done, and we want to support China in its efforts to strengthen its legal system, impose stronger labor and environmental protections, improve accountability, give citizens greater freedom, and increase their access to information.

We disagree, of course, on the meaning and reach of human rights, because I am convinced that greater freedom, debate, and openness are vital to improving China's citizens' lives as well as China's economy over the long run. It is troubling that in the past year, China has taken some steps backwards on human rights in arresting people basically for seeking to express their political views. I also regret that more progress has not been made to open a dialog with the Dalai Lama.

We honor China's remarkable achievements, its greater prosperity, and the greater range of personal choices available to its citizens, as well as the movement toward local democracy. We appreciate the magnitude of its struggles, far greater than those faced by any other country in the world. But the American people and, indeed, people all around the world, believe that all persons are

entitled to fundamental freedoms that include freedom of speech, religion, and association.

I hope that China's leaders will conclude that in these areas, too, benefits of change outweigh the risks. I hope and believe we can make the kind of progress together that will enable both of us to have the kind of strong partnership that would be very much in the world's interest in the 21st century, a partnership against war and terrorism, against dangerous weapons and crime, far better health care and education, for a cleaner environment, achievements in the arts and the sciences, a deepening of democratic values and prosperity for all our citizens and indeed, for all the world.

I have no illusions that cooperation with China can resolve all of our differences. Our countries are too large. Our backgrounds are too different. Where our interests diverge, we will continue to stand for our values and to protect our national security. But a policy of confrontation for confrontation's sake, as I said yesterday, will accomplish nothing but the fulfillment of the bleakest prophecies held by people in both the United States and China.

Yesterday I said we should not see this relationship through rose-colored glasses, nor should we see it through a glass darkly. We should see it with clear eyes. It is in the interest of the American people and the Chinese people that whenever we can cooperate, we should. This relationship, complex though it may be, is profoundly important to the future of every American and every Chinese citizen and, indeed, to all the world.

Premier Zhu.

**Premier Zhu.** Thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, I'd like to thank President Clinton for his invitation, and now the delegation of the People's Republic of China is visiting the United States. And today I'm very honored to join President Clinton, to meet all the friends coming from the press. And I am ready to convey through the friends from the media my most sincere greetings and best regards to the American people.

From the moment since I set foot on the American soil, which started from Los Angeles, when maybe God did not welcome me

very much, for it rained very hard, but it appears to me that the American people like me. And today we received a very grand welcome from the President, and we had a very good talk with the President and his colleagues. And at noon I also attended a very grand luncheon hosted by Secretary Albright, which was an opportunity for me to meet many old friends.

I believe that our talks were frank and candid, and they were constructive and fruitful. Naturally, the result has not been measured by how many agreements we may have reached; I believe we've already reached quite a number of agreements. What is the key that the PRC delegation is able to have the opportunity of meeting people from different walks of life in the United States and that we can have an opportunity to talk directly to the American people to explain to them what is our views.

As I said in the morning, it is not that only friends who say yes to you are good friends. We believe that maybe the friends who are able to say no to you are the best friends for you.

And from Washington, I will also travel to Denver, to Chicago, to New York, and to Boston, where I will meet quite a lot of friends from the United States. I'm ready to talk to them, and I'm also prepared to argue, to debate with them. I believe by doing so, we will be able to promote the communication and mutual understanding between our two peoples, thus promoting the relationship between us, or rather, the objective of working to build a constructive strategic partnership between the two sides as opened up by the two Presidents, and also to continue to develop the friendship between us.

As the President said earlier this morning, we also reached certain agreement on the WTO question, and we shall issue a joint statement on this question. And also on these areas we've already agreed upon, such as on the agricultural questions, we will sign certain agreements. In my view, all these will further promote the development of friendship and cooperation between China and the United States.

And today I am ready to answer your questions in a very candid manner. But as the Premier of China, I took my office only on

the 17th of March last year, and today is my first time to experience such press conference—so my heart is now beating. [Laughter] I'm not as experienced as the President, because the President is very experienced in dealing with you. [Laughter] I'm not that experienced, so should I say something which is not appropriate very much, I do hope that you will exercise certain leniency and try to promote what is good and try as much as you can to cover what may not be that appropriate. [Laughter]

Thank you.

### **Premier Zhu's Visit**

**Q.** Thank you, Mr. Premier. As a matter of fact, before your visit to the United States, and also since you set your foot on the American soil, many of our leaders have such a question—that is, given such difficulties that the China-U.S. relations encountered, why did you still decide to visit the United States as scheduled? What are your real thoughts? And how do you think China-U.S. relations should develop at the turn of the century?

**Premier Zhu.** Are you asking me to tell you the truth? To tell you the truth, I was really reluctant to come. [Laughter] Two days before my departure from China for the United States, I received two congressional delegations from the United States, one headed by Mr. Thomas, the other by Mr. Roth. All together, more than 20 Senators and Congressmen were at the meetings. I said to them, "As the current political atmosphere in the United States is so anti-China, I really lack the guts to pay the visit to the United States at present." And they told me that "You should go. We welcome you, because we Americans like your new face."

I said, my old friend, Ambassador Sasser told me he was going to go back to the United States before me, and he was going to each and every place that I was going to visit to introduce me to the local people and also to promote my trip. And he also told me that he was fully prepared to be even beaten black and blue, and maybe with a bandage wrapped around his face when he saw me in the United States. Then I said, "Even your Ambassador Sasser, an American, had such a risk of being beaten black and blue, then what would my fate be as a

Chinese? Will my new face be turned into a bloody face?" [Laughter]

The Senators and the Congressmen didn't give me any guarantee. But President Jiang Zemin decided that I should come according to a schedule, and he is number one in China, so I had to obey him. [Laughter] Now, I can tell you that I am now in a much better mood than when I was just about to make the trip, because since I came to the United States I've seen so many friendly faces, and I've been accorded very warm welcome and reception.

I believe that through my current visit to the United States I will be able to contribute some of my part to the continued growth of the friendly relations and the cooperation between China and the United States. And more than that, I will also be able to get more understanding from the American people and maybe develop more consensus with the American side on the issues over which we still argue.

And we'll also be able to conclude several agreements in the economic field, for instance on SPS. And actually, our negotiations in the field of WTO have been going on for 13 years. And on the part of the Chinese side, we have already made a lot of concessions. For instance, in the area of TCK wheat, now we have already agreed to lift the ban on the exports of wheat from seven American U.S. States to China. And now we have also decided to lift the restriction on the export of citrus from four States of the United States, including California, to China.

On the question of China's accession into the WTO, in my view, the gap between the two sides is really not very significant. Maybe Mr. President does not quite agree with me on that; their side still believes that the gap is significant. So that's why at present we are only in a position to sign a joint statement instead of a full package agreement.

If you want to hear some honest words, then I should say that now the problem does not lie with this big difference or big gap, but lies with the political atmosphere. But we are very optimistic about the prospect of the development of friendly relations and the cooperation between China and the United States.

As I said this morning, I don't think there's any problem or question between our two countries that cannot be resolved satisfactorily through friendly consultations.

As for some other issues, such as human rights and the Dalai Lama, President Clinton mentioned all these issues in his opening remarks. I think we have enough time to argue over these questions, so I don't want to dwell on these questions long here.

**President Clinton.** Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

### ***Situation in the Balkans***

**Q.** Mr. President, I have a three-part question on—[laughter]—

**President Clinton.** You learned from her, right?

**Q.** —on Kosovo. Solana says that there are ongoing discussions on ground troops. Has the U.S. position changed? Two, has the Cypriot intervention helped to pave the way for the release of the American servicemen? And three, is Milosevic a war criminal by Nuremburg standards?

**President Clinton.** The answer to the first question is, no. I believe our present strategy will work if we can keep the allies with it.

The answer to the second question is, I don't know. I hope so. We would like to see the servicemen released because they never should have been detained in the first place. They were in Macedonia. They had nothing to do with the operations against Serbia. And I would be for anything honorable that would secure their release, obviously.

The answer to the third question is that that is, strictly speaking, a legal decision that has to be made, but I certainly think it should be looked into.

**Q.** Why are nine commanders named by the State Department to be possibly indicted, and you don't mention Milosevic?

**President Clinton.** The answer to that is, I'm not sure. The question I want to emphasize to you is, when you start talking about indicting people, there are laws, there are standards of proof, there are coverages, there are all those issues. We have asked that this be looked at.

What we do know is this. Let's look at what we know. What we know is that by a deliberate policy he has caused hundreds of thousands of people to be refugees. We know that thousands of innocent people have been killed—defenseless, completely defenseless people. We know that people were herded up and pushed to the borders and pushed over the borders. And today you all have stories saying that the same borders that people were herded up and pushed over or pushed up next to are now being mined, so if they try to get across them to save their lives they can be blown up.

We know that he supported, strongly, the Serbian actions in the Bosnian war, which led to the deaths of over a quarter of a million people and over 2½ million people being made refugees.

Now, the important thing to me is to stop the killing, to stop the exodus, to see the refugees return, to see them safe, to see a political solution that gives them the autonomy that they were promised, to have an international peacekeeping force that will prevent this from happening again.

But I have been very clear, Helen—I think quite unambiguous that, on the war crimes issue, that is something—we have a tribunal set up for that. We have people whose job it is to make that determination. They should examine it and make that determination.

And I think that's all that is appropriate for me to say, because it's not my job, and I'm not a legal expert on that question. But I do think that the facts are clear. The humanitarian suffering and loss here is staggering, and it is a repeat of what we saw in Bosnia. And it is his direct political strategy for first getting and then maintaining power. And the human loss has been breathtaking.

### **Taiwan**

**Q.** Seven hours before you landed in Andrews Air Force Base yesterday, President Clinton made a foreign policy speech in which he mentioned the sending of carriers to the waters in the Taiwan Straits in March 1996. And he said that that move had helped maintain the security in the Taiwan Straits. So in your view, how do you see the effect of the military capabilities of the United States on the situation across the Taiwan

Straits? And do you think there should be a timetable for the reunification of the mainland and Taiwan of China? And do you wish to pay a visit to Taiwan?

**Premier Zhu.** The policy of China and the reunification of the mainland and Taiwan of China is a very clear-cut one and the President, Jiang Zemin, has already expounded on China's policy in this regard. So I don't see the need for me to reiterate here.

Since the return of Hong Kong to the motherland, the policy of one country, two systems, Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong, Hong Kong enduring a high degree of autonomy, have been fully implemented, which is a fact there for the people in the entire world to see. And our policy for the reunification of China with Taiwan is more generous than our policy towards Hong Kong. That is to say, Taiwan will be allowed to maintain its army, and we're also prepared to let the head of Taiwan come to the central government to serve as the deputy head.

But as for whether he or she is able to be the head, then I'm not sure. But I'm afraid it would not get enough votes. Nobody would vote for him.

On the question of the reunification, the Chinese Government has repeatedly stated that we strive for a peaceful reunification of the motherland, but we have never undertaken to renounce the use of force in this regard, because if we were to make such a pledge, make such an undertaking, then I'm afraid that Taiwan would be in the perpetual state of separation from the motherland.

Just now, in the Oval Office of President Clinton, I saw the portrait of President Abraham Lincoln. Abraham Lincoln, in order to maintain the unity of the United States and oppose independence of the southern part, he had resorted to the use of force and fought a war for that, for maintaining the unity of the United States. So I think Abraham Lincoln, President, is a model, is an example.

As for whether I'm going to visit Taiwan, since none of them have issued an invitation to me, so how can I go there and in what capacity should I go there? I hope you will also help me to think of this. *[Laughter]*

Thank you.



**President Clinton.** I think I have to say just one thing, if I might, since I got zapped by Abraham Lincoln. [Laughter] First of all, the United States has a “one China” policy, and I have reaffirmed that at every opportunity. I do so again today.

Secondly, we believe that this matter should be resolved peacefully. The facts of the relationship between Taiwan and China over the last 50 years are somewhat different than the facts leading up to the American Civil War, as I’m sure that you would all agree.

It does seem to me that China and Taiwan, apart from the blood ties of being Chinese—even the native Taiwanese—that you have a lot to offer each other, including economic power but beyond that as well.

And so I hope that we will see a resolution of this. And I think if the Premier is as humorous and clever in Taiwan as he is here, I think it would be a good thing for him to go. [Laughter]

Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press].

**Premier Zhu.** President Clinton’s black and blue. [Laughter]

### ***Weapons Lab Espionage and 1996 Campaign Contributions***

**Q.** A question to the Premier. Sir, how do you respond to charges that China stole nuclear warhead designs and perhaps neutron bomb technology from the United States, and also funneled hundreds of thousands of dollars to President Clinton’s reelection campaign? [Laughter]

And Mr. Clinton, do you find any of these charges credible? And what do you say to criticism that your policy of engaging China has benefited China and not penalized them at all for human rights abuses, trade problems, and espionage?

**Premier Zhu.** In the capacity of the Premier of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China, I’d like to make a very solemn statement here that I have no knowledge whatsoever of any allegation of espionage or the theft of nuclear technology. And I don’t believe such a story.

I’ve also asked President Jiang, and he does not have any knowledge of that at all. It is not the policy of China to steal so-called military secrets from the United States. And

I don’t think there can be such a problem, given the tight security measures in the United States and advanced technology. Although, it seems that to the technology, with regard to this microphone, is not that advanced. [Laughter]

I think it’s entirely impossible for China to have any effective—or to steal any nuclear technology or military secrets from the United States effectively under such conditions, such tight security measures.

In the scientific exchanges between scholars of our two countries, they may have some exchanges concerning defense technologies. But I don’t believe that such exchanges will involve any substantive or key technologies.

As a senior engineer, I’ve been in charge of the industry in China for more than 40 years, and I have never known any of our most advanced technology came from the United States. But the technology development, or technologies, are the common heritage or common property of mankind. And in scientific inventions, actually, all roads lead to Rome. And in terms of the missile and the nuclear technologies, indeed, we have learned that from foreign countries.

While in the area of missile technology, the pioneer in China is Mr. Tsien Hsueh-sen, who returned from the United States. And in terms of the nuclear technology the pioneer in China is Qian Sanqiang, who returned from the lab of Madam Curie of France. But I can assure you that when they returned back, they didn’t bring back even a piece of paper; they just brought back with them their brains.

That’s why I said at the press conference last March that I hope you don’t underestimate your own ability, your own security ability, or your own ability to keep secrets, and don’t underestimate the capability of the Chinese people to develop their own technology.

At a luncheon hosted by the mayor of Los Angeles, the wife of the mayor asked me, “How are you going to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic?” I told her that we planned to hold a very grand military review and also the latest weaponry will be on display. And I also told her that all the weaponry are developed by China itself, not stolen from the United

States. The wife of the mayor gave me advice, and she said, "Maybe you should put a sign on the weaponry, the missiles, that they are 'Made in China, not from the United States.'" I appreciated her sense of humor very much, and I said, "That's a good idea." [Laughter]

Mr. Clinton stated in the speech that the United States has more than 6,000 nuclear missiles, while China only has less than two dozen. I think he knows better than I do. I, to tell you the truth, don't know the exact number of missiles that we have. [Laughter] Although I do not know the exact number of our missiles, I agree with you in your conclusion. That is, we have a very small number of missiles, and you have a very large number. So China does not constitute a threat whatsoever to the United States.

On the allegation of political contributions or campaign financing, I can also state in a very responsible manner here that neither I, nor President Jiang Zemin, know anything about that. And we, too, also once asked the senior military leaders in China, and they told us they didn't have any knowledge of that.

I think this shows that some Americans really had underestimated us. If the political contribution were to be really that effective, then now I have \$146 billion U.S. of foreign exchange reserve, so I should have put out at least \$10 billion U.S. for that purpose. Why just \$300,000? That would be too foolish. [Laughter] I've learned that some people have spent a lot in lobbying here, but I never believed such rumors.

I think through such mutual discussions and even debates, we can develop consensus and reach agreement on many issues that will serve the interests of both the Chinese and American peoples. And we also trust the American people, and we, actually, we have never and we would not do such kind of thing. Thank you.

**President Clinton.** Let me respond to the question you asked me. First of all, with regard to the two issues, the campaign finance issue and the espionage allegations, I raised both these issues with Premier Zhu last night. He gave me the same answer he just gave you today. And my response was that I hope that he and his Government would cooperate with these two investigations.

You know, China is a big country with a big Government. And I can only say that America is a big country with a big Government, and occasionally, things happen in this Government that I don't know about. And so I think it's important that we continue the investigation and do our best to find out what happened, and I asked for his cooperation.

Now as to the second part of your question, which is, what do we get out of this—the sort of anti-China crowd in America says—first of all, the implication is that if someone wants to have a relationship with us, they should agree with us about everything. That's just not going to happen.

But I would like to point out the following things: Because of our cooperation with China, we have lessened the tensions on the Korean Peninsula for several years; China has participated with us in any number of arms control initiatives, including an agreement to restrain its transfers of dangerous weapons and technology to other countries; China is a signatory to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty; and China has worked very hard, as I already said, to stabilize the Asian economy at a time when it was not only hurting people in Asia, but it was beginning to affect the American economy. So we get quite a lot out of our cooperation with China.

Last point. When you say, what do we get out of it? He could have people asking him that in China. They could say, "It is the United States, not the European Union, that sponsors the human rights resolution. The United States has stricter controls on technology transfer to China than any other country with which it deals." Both of which are true.

But let me just give you one final example—take the WTO. How could it possibly serve America's interests not to open more Chinese markets to America's workers and businesses and farmers? They have a much bigger share of our market, in terms of exports, than we have of theirs. How could it possibly be against our interest to bring more Chinese into contact with more Americans and to give more opportunities for America to honestly compete in the Chinese market?

I think it is clear that the more we work together and talk together, and the more China is involved with the rest of the world,

the more likely we are to reach positive outcomes. That is the logic of the policy and the logic of what we are doing in particular on WTO.

**Premier Zhu.** I agree to cooperate with your side in investigation, so long as you can provide some clues. And no matter who it may involve, we will investigate into it.

I'd like here to respond to what President Clinton said on WTO. He said that to allow China in the WTO will be in the best interest of the American people. And I want to say that, although China has made the biggest concessions, that will also be in the interest of the Chinese people. Many Hong Kong newspapers say that I've come to the United States to present a very big gift. I don't think such a suggestion is right. I'm sorry; I'm afraid I've offended the press. *[Laughter]*

Because if China wants to join the WTO, wants to be integrated in the international community, then China must play by the rules of the game. China cannot do that without making concessions. Of course, such concessions might bring about a very huge impact on China's national economy on some state-owned enterprises and also on China's market.

But I have every assurance to say here, thanks to the achievements made in our reform and opening up process, we will be able to stand such impact. And the competition arising from such impact will also promote a more rapid and more healthy development of China's national economy.

Here I'd like to call the attention of the Hong Kong press people. In your future reports, don't ever write things like "present a big gift," because that would be interpreted—equivalent to a political contribution or campaign financing. That would be very much detrimental to President Clinton. *[Laughter]*

### **China and the Asian Economies**

**Q.** I'm a correspondent with CCTV China. Recently, there has been much talk within and out of China about China's economic development, reform and opening up policy. So, Mr. Premier, would you please make some observations on the current state of China's economy and the prospect of economic development in China. And what im-

pact do you think China's economic development will have on the stability and the development of the economy in Asia and the world at large?

**Premier Zhu.** Last year, China's economy experienced extreme difficulties due to the Asian financial crisis and the devastating floods hitting some areas in China. But we have tided over these difficulties and managed to achieve a 7.8 percent growth of our GDP. And we have maintained a policy of not to devalue the RMB currency. And the prices in China have been maintained basically stable and some have somewhat declined or have dropped.

As for the economic development in China this year, many foreigners are predicting that China will be the next to be hit by an economic crisis. But I don't think that will be the case. This year the projected GDP growth is 7 percent; but in the first quarter of the year the growth rate was 8.3 percent. So I expect China's economic development this year to be better than that of last year, not in terms of the speed, simply in terms of speed, but in terms of the economic efficiency, economic results.

Secondly, some foreigners are saying that China's economic reform has come to a stop. I wish to state here in very explicit terms that last year, instead of coming to a standstill, China's reforms made greater progress than originally planned.

Firstly, in terms of the reform of the Government institutions, last year we set the objective of cutting the size of the central Government by half in 3 years time; that is, from 33,000 people to 16,000 people. And this objective had been realized last year, just in one year. Apart from 4,000 Government functionaries who have now gone to universities or colleges for further study, all the rest have been reemployed by other sectors, by enterprises. And so I think that represents a very major achievement.

And this year, we plan to press forward the reform of the local governments. We also plan to cut the size of the local governments by half in 3 years time; that is, to cut from 5 million people to 2.5.

Third, some foreigners are saying that there is a very serious problem of unemployment in China, a lot of people have been

laid off from state-owned enterprises, and this has caused a social instability in China. I think anybody who has been to China will know that this is not true.

In the beginning of last year, indeed, there were 10 million laid-off workers or unemployed workers. Thanks to our efforts over the past year we have put in place a social security system. Now all those laid-off workers or unemployed workers can get basic living allowances. And many of them have been reemployed. Now there are 6 million unemployed or laid-off workers who are in those reemployment service centers waiting for being reemployed, while the establishment of such a social security system is very helpful to our efforts to revitalize, rejuvenate the state-owned enterprises by introducing shareholding system into the large state-owned enterprises and also to reform the small and the medium-sized enterprises in various ways, including to privatize some of the small ones.

Lastly, China now is introducing an unprecedented reform in its banking system. We are drawing on the experience of the RTC in the United States to form the assets management companies in China to handle the nonperforming loans of the state-owned banks. I believe that such reform is conducive to turning the state-owned commercial banks into genuine commercial banks, and is also conducive to helping enhance the ability of the central bank to supervise and to regulate according to international practice.

So here, I'd like to say that China's RMB will not be depreciated, and it will remain stable. So here, I'd like to call on the American business people to go to China for investment. You will not face the risk of devaluation of RMB. If you don't believe me, then I would take the advice from Professor Milton Miller of Chicago University. He advised me to offer a put option to those who don't believe me.

Thank you very much.

**President Clinton.** Larry [Larry McQuillan, Reuters]?

[At this point, while the microphone was being passed to Mr. McQuillan, Sam Donaldson, ABC News, feigned asking a question.]

**Q.** That was tough.

**President Clinton.** That was real statesmanship. [Laughter]

### **Human Rights/Weapons Lab Espionage**

**Q.** I think it was more of a ham, but I have questions for both you gentlemen. Mr. Premier, as you know the U.S. State Department issued a rather scathing report on human rights abuses in your country, and the United States is in the process of sponsoring a resolution before a U.N. group to criticize human rights in your country. Do you consider these assessments totally unfair, or do you think it's possible that there are problems within your country that need to be corrected?

And President Clinton, at your last formal news conference, you spoke about the problems, or at least allegations, of Chinese spying, and you said that it mainly dealt in the 1980's, that there were no indications that it involved your Presidency. In the wake of today's New York Times report, can you still make that statement? Or are you concerned that perhaps you were misled or had information withheld from you about the extent of the allegations?

**Premier Zhu.** Me first? [Laughter]

**President Clinton.** You're the guest. [Laughter]

**Premier Zhu.** Thank you. Firstly, I wish to say I'm firmly opposed to the U.S. tabling of a draft resolution directed at China at the Human Rights Commission session. I not only regard that as unfair but also take it as an interference in China's internal affairs.

I wish to make three points here. Firstly, China has made very big progress in the human rights area over the past several decades since the founding of new China. And the Chinese people today enjoy unprecedented extensive democratic and political rights. Through certain legal procedures, through certain procedures, the Chinese people can voice their criticisms of the Government, and they can also exercise supervision over the Government. And they can express fully their opinions. And in my view, in terms of the freedom of speech and freedom of press, China indeed has made very great progress.

Secondly, I also think that we should put the question of human rights in a historical perspective. And I think different countries may have a different understanding of this question. In terms of the human rights concept, Mencius, who lived in a period more than 2,000 years ago in China, he stated that people are the most important and the most precious, while the state is next to that, and the emperor or the kings are the least important. So that kind of thought was much earlier than Rousseau of France and then the Human Rights Declaration of France.

And also, different countries have different conditions, and human rights, actually, is also a concept that has evolved in history. In terms of per capita income, the per capita income of the United States is 20 times that of China. And also, in terms of education, the ratio of university graduates in the United States, in its total population, is higher than the ratio of the illiterate people, plus the primary school graduates to the total population in China. So given such different levels of education and also income, it's natural that people may have different concepts of human rights.

For instance, if you want to talk about human rights to a very poor person, maybe what he is more interested in is—if you want to just talk to him about direct election. But maybe that is not what he is most interested in. What he is interested in most is the other aspects of human rights, such as the right to education, the right to subsistence, the right to development, the right to a cultural life, and the right to medical care, health care. So I think human rights actually include so many aspects.

So I think every country has its own approach in improving its human rights. One should not be too impatient, but to tell the truth, I'm more impatient than you are in how to further, constantly improve the human rights in China.

Thirdly, I concede that there is room for improvement in human rights conditions in China. As you may know, China has a history of several thousand years of a feudal system, feudal society, so people have very deep-rooted concepts influenced by this historical background. It's quite difficult to change such mentality or concept overnight.

And also in China, the legal workers, the people working in the legal and the judicial field, some of them are not that qualified, are not that competent, so sometimes in dealing with certain cases they need to improve their work. So under such conditions it's really not realistic to demand a very perfect practice in the human rights field.

So we are willing to listen to you, and we are willing to have channels of dialog on human rights questions. We don't want to stage a confrontation in this regard.

Actually, in China, when I received some foreign visitors, they tend to put forward a list of so-called dissidents and ask me to release these people. Well actually, we took this matter very seriously, and we have looked into all these cases, and if we found that the person on the list has not committed any criminal offenses, then we will just release him.

Well, before I came to the United States, many of my friends mailed me a lot of materials in which they contained a lot of information about the problems of human rights in the United States. And they urged me to bring such materials to President Clinton, but I haven't brought them with me. I don't want to hand that over to President Clinton because I trust you are able to resolve your own problems.

**President Clinton.** Actually, sometimes we could use a little outside help, too. [Laughter]

Let me say, first of all, in response to the question you raise, I read the New York Times article today, and while I can't comment on specific intelligence reports as a matter of policy, I noted that even the article acknowledged that the alleged espionage might not have been connected to the national labs, which is the question I was asked in the press conference.

But let me say, I've looked into it and we're doing our best to resolve all outstanding questions. And I've asked the law enforcement agencies to try to accelerate their inquiries insofar as they can.

The real issue is, and one that we made perfectly clear last week, is that for quite a long while, from the eighties coming right up through the time I became President, the security at the labs was inadequate. And I

think it grew out of, partly, the kind of dual culture of the labs—part of their great centers of science and learning, and they've done a lot of pathbreaking work in energy and alternative sources of energy and computer processing and the use of software for all kinds of very important nondefense matters, while maintaining their responsibilities in the nuclear area.

And to me, the most important thing of all now, besides finishing the investigations in an appropriate way, is making sure we get the security right. You know that I signed that Executive order in early 1998. You know what Secretary Richardson has done recently. And I have also asked the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board Chairman, Senator Rudman, to head a bipartisan panel to look into what we have done and to tell us if we haven't done enough and what else we ought to do.

So I think the most important thing now is to recognize that for quite a long while, the security at the labs was not adequate, that we have been moving to do a lot of things in the last year-plus, that we have much more to do, perhaps, and we asked somebody to look into it, and then to do these investigations and do them right and do them as quickly as possible.

NOTE: The President's 172d news conference began at 3:51 p.m. in Presidential Hall (formerly Room 450) in the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, the President referred to President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). He also referred to Presidential Decision Directive 61 (PDD-61). Premier Zhu spoke in Chinese, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. In his remarks, Premier Zhu referred to Mayor Richard Riordan of Los Angeles, CA, and his wife, Nancy.

**Joint United States-China Statement:  
Status of Negotiations on China's  
Accession to the World Trade  
Organization**  
*April 8, 1999*

On the occasion of the official visit of the Premier of the Government of the People's Republic of China Premier Zhu Rongji, to the United States, President of the United

States William Jefferson Clinton and Premier Zhu Rongji jointly affirm that China's admission to the World Trade Organization (WTO) is in the interest of the United States, the People's Republic of China, and the global trading system. To that end, they welcome the significant progress made by the United States and the People's Republic of China toward a strong agreement based on a balance of rights and obligations. Noting that agreement has not been reached on some important issues, they commit to work to resolve these remaining issues through further bilateral negotiations in order to conclude a strong agreement as the basis for the accession of the People's Republic of China to the WTO.

President Clinton and Premier Zhu recognize the complexity of WTO accession negotiations. In this regard, they note that agreement has been reached on market access for agricultural and industrial goods as well as a wide range of services sectors, as set out in Attachment 1, but that certain matters remain to be resolved in banking, including consumer auto finance, as well as securities and audio visual services. They further welcome the conclusion of the Sino-U.S. Agricultural Cooperation Agreement, especially the resolution of bilateral issues concerning imports by the People's Republic of China of U.S. citrus, meat products, and Pacific Northwest wheat, as set out in Attachment 2. President Clinton and Premier Zhu note agreement has been reached on a variety of important rules to be applicable to the WTO, concerning trading rights, technology transfer and offsets, state enterprises, and subsidies, as set out in Attachment 3. However, they recognize that certain differences remain to be resolved on a mechanism to ensure implementation, the duration of provisions governing dumping and product safeguards, and rules governing textiles trade.

President Clinton and Premier Zhu welcome this significant progress and instruct their trade ministers to resume bilateral negotiations in order to satisfactorily resolve the important remaining issues as soon as possible in support of the common goal of admission of the People's Republic of China to the WTO on strong commercial terms in 1999.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

**Proclamation 7180—National  
D.A.R.E. Day, 1999**

*April 8, 1999*

*By the President of the United States  
of America*

**A Proclamation**

The Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.) program, founded in 1983 by the Los Angeles Police Department and the Los Angeles Unified School District, helps children across our Nation develop into the bright, talented, and healthy individuals they have the potential to become. The D.A.R.E. curriculum is designed to give children in kindergarten through 12th grade the skills they need to avoid involvement in drugs, gangs, and violence. Taught by community police officers who have the special training and experience necessary to address the difficult issues facing young people, the D.A.R.E. program reaches more than 26 million students each day in nearly 75 percent of our Nation's school districts, encouraging young Americans to resist peer pressure and to lead lives free from the shadows of drugs and violence.

D.A.R.E.'s mission is a crucial one. Drug abuse costs our Nation more than 14,000 lives and billions of dollars each year. A recent study by the Department of Justice confirms that drug use continues to be a factor in crimes such as burglary, auto theft, assault, and murder, and that one in six offenders commits a crime just to get money for drugs. Because of alarming statistics like these, we must focus our efforts not just on those already addicted to drugs, but on all our young people, so that we can reach them before they are exposed to these illegal substances. Working in partnership with parents, teachers, and communities, the D.A.R.E. program conveys to children at an impressionable age a strong message about the dangers of substance abuse and strives to give them the tools and motivation they need to avoid those dangers.

Expanding on grassroots efforts like D.A.R.E., my Administration's 1999 National

Drug Control Strategy provides a comprehensive approach to move us closer to a drug-free America. An important part of this long-term plan is our emphasis on educating children. We know that when children understand the dangers of drugs, their rates of drug use decline. Our National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign and the Safe and Drug-Free Schools program focus on helping young Americans reject illegal drugs and violence. In addition, in recent years, we have protected and increased the funding of the Safe and Drug-Free Schools program. Coupled with programs like D.A.R.E., these efforts offer us real hope for freeing America's communities from the tragedy of substance abuse and the crime and violence they spawn. By doing so, we will give our children the safe and healthy future they deserve.

**Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton,** President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim April 8, 1999, as National D.A.R.E. Day. I call upon our youth, parents, educators, and all the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate programs and activities.

**In Witness Whereof,** I have hereunto set my hand this eighth day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-third.

**William J. Clinton**

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:38 a.m., April 9, 1999]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on April 12.

**Remarks at a State Dinner Honoring  
Premier Zhu**

*April 8, 1999*

May I have your attention, please. Can you hear? Ladies and gentlemen, Premier Zhu, Madam Lao, distinguished members of the Chinese delegation; to all of our guests here. And I would like to say a special word of welcome to two special Americans who made an extraordinary effort to be here tonight,

Reverend Billy Graham, and his wife, Ruth. We thank them for joining us. Thank you very much.

I would like to begin with two profound observations about China. The Chinese civilization has dazzled the world for thousands of years, and the Chinese do not have a tradition of long speeches before dinner. [Laughter] I think there must be a connection. [Laughter] Therefore, I will be brief.

It is not as brief in Chinese as in English. [Laughter]

Since 1784, Chinese and Americans have shared a lively dialog over how to achieve common cause in the countless pursuits that animate great nations. Thomas Jefferson took care to promote what he called "good dispositions" between the United States and China. Abraham Lincoln, in his first annual message to Congress, predicted our extensive trade with China. And of course, Franklin Roosevelt made it America's purpose to join with China in defense of freedom.

Our dialog and cooperation have now survived over two centuries and over considerable challenges. Today the Premier and I worked hard to renew both. We spoke to each other with candor and respect about our hopes for our people and our children's future. Sometimes speaking candidly is difficult.

Premier Zhu, I know your own life bears witness to this painful truth. But as you said this morning, only good friends tell each other what they really think. If you're right about that, you have turned out to be quite a good friend, indeed. [Laughter]

As you know, the American people are glad to see you, and to return the hospitality you so generously extended to Hillary and me and our delegation last year. People are interested in you. After all, there aren't many leaders who understand both the intricacies of global finance and the intricacies of the Beijing Opera, who play the huqin, a kind of Chinese fiddle, and who voice both blunt political views and blunt musical opinions.

For example, this morning's New York Times reported that you said Western opera makes you want to take a nap. [Laughter] I hope Yo Yo Ma understands the pressure on him tonight. [Laughter]

Premier, we have profound respect for your efforts to change China in sweeping ways, to build a 21st century China in which all Chinese have a chance to live full and prosperous lives. Of course, we have some differences over what is required to achieve that goal. And here in America we are still trying, ourselves, to form the "more perfect Union" of our Founders' dreams.

But we both believe tomorrow can be better than today, and we believe that our responsibility is to make it so before our brief journeys through life are over.

Last year on March the 5th, the Chinese people celebrated the centennial of the birth of the first Premier of the People's Republic, Zhou Enlai. Americans still remember well the man who greeted President Nixon in 1972 and said to him in a toast: "The people and the people alone are the motive force in the making of world history. We are confident," he went on to say, "that the day will surely come when this common desire of our two peoples will be realized." Mr. Premier, as Zhou Enlai's successor, you have done much to bring this day closer.

Ladies and gentlemen, please join me in a toast to the Premier of China, Zhu Rongji, Madam Lao and the people of China.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:04 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Premier Zhu's wife, Lao An, and musician Yo Yo Ma. The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Premier Zhu. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

## **Memorandum on Assistance to Croatia**

*April 8, 1999*

Presidential Determination No. 99-21

### *Memorandum for the Secretary of State*

*Subject:* Eligibility of the Republic of Croatia to be Furnished Defense Articles and Services Under the Foreign Assistance Act and Arms Export Control Act

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 503(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and section 3(a)(1) of



the Arms Export Control Act, I hereby find that the furnishing of defense articles and services to the Government of the Republic of Croatia will strengthen the security of the United States and promote world peace.

You are authorized and directed to report this finding to the Congress and to publish it in the *Federal Register*.

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: This message was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on April 9.

## **Remarks on Departure for Philadelphia, Pennsylvania**

*April 9, 1999*

### ***Situation in the Balkans***

Good morning. Before we depart, I'd like to say a few words about the situation in Kosovo. Over the last several days, we have struck hard at Serbia's machinery of repression and at the infrastructure that supports it. Our humanitarian relief operation is bringing life-saving supplies to refugees in Macedonia and Albania. Our military is doing its part to help there, too.

I'm gratified by the efforts of all involved and confident that, after 2 weeks, NATO is determined to persist and prevail. If anything, Mr. Milosevic's actions have strengthened the unity and resolve of our allies.

As our strikes have intensified, Mr. Milosevic has tried to rearrange the facts on the ground by declaring a cease-fire while holding his borders—closing his borders to fleeing refugees. But the fundamental reality is unchanged. Attacks on innocent people continue. Refugees who were pushed from their homes by force now see their escape routes blocked by force.

Mr. Milosevic still thinks he can manipulate the situation by cynically using innocent people. He hopes that we will accept as permanent the results of his ethnic cleansing. We will not, not when a quarter of Kosovo's people are living in refugee camps beyond Kosovo's borders, not when hundreds of thousands more are trapped inside, afraid to go home, but unable to leave.

If we settle for half-measures from Mr. Milosevic, we will get nothing more. And

what we have from Mr. Milosevic today is not even partial compliance but the illusion of partial compliance. We and our allies have properly rejected it.

President Milosevic must withdraw from Kosovo his military police and paramilitary forces; they are responsible for the violence. He must permit deployment of an international security force, for we have seen in the past that this is the only way to ensure his promises are kept. He must allow the unconditional return of our refugees because their expulsion from their homes and their land cannot be tolerated.

He must take these essential steps as we move toward self-government and security for the people of Kosovo. In the meantime, we will continue to do all we can to help the victims of the tragedy.

Today the First Lady is going to Dover Air Force Base in Delaware, the main east coast departure point for humanitarian supplies, where a C-5 aircraft, our largest transport plane, loaded with humanitarian daily rations headed for Albania and Macedonia, will be stocked.

Thus far, we have seen 800,000 of the 1.1 million daily rations we've pledged for the region. I am deeply gratified that the American people have placed over 15,000 calls to the 1-800 number I announced Monday to make donations. I also know that many churches and other religious institutions have been taking up collections and sending them in; we are grateful for that as well. I ask the American people to continue their steadfast support. I believe that they will. I am confident we will prevail.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:53 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

## **Radio Remarks on the Philadelphia Shipyard**

*April 9, 1999*

Last week the U.S. Navy and Philadelphia signed several important agreements that are good for the city, the Navy, and our Nation.

I want to thank Mayor Rendell, the people of the United States Navy, and others who were critical to this important achievement. These agreements, combined with the decision by the Norwegian company Kvaerner to invest here, will help transform Philadelphia's huge and historic naval shipyard, generating thousands of high paying jobs, helping to revitalize America's commercial shipbuilding industry. Working together, this remarkable partnership of business, labor, and Government will modernize the shipyard and train workers to produce state-of-the-art commercial ships. Congratulations to the people of Philadelphia on an important new economic venture.

NOTE: The President's remarks were recorded at approximately 12:30 p.m. in the administrative offices of Memorial Hall in Philadelphia, PA, for later broadcast. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Edward Rendell of Philadelphia. The remarks were also made available on the White House Press Radio Actuality Line.

### **Statement on Signing the Sudbury, Assabet, and Concord Wild and Scenic River Act**

*April 9, 1999*

I have today signed into law H.R. 193, the "Sudbury, Assabet, and Concord Wild and Scenic River Act." The Act will designate portions of the Sudbury, Assabet, and Concord Rivers in Massachusetts as part of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System. I am pleased that the Congress has moved quickly to pass this legislation, which has bipartisan support.

This Act recognizes 29 free-flowing miles of these three rivers for their outstanding ecology, history, scenery, recreation values, and place in American literature. Located about 25 miles west of Boston, these rivers are remarkably undeveloped and provide recreational opportunities in a natural setting to several million people living in the Greater Boston metropolitan area. Ten of the river miles lie within the boundary of the Great Meadows National Wildlife Refuge, which was established to protect the outstanding waterfowl habitat associated with extensive riparian wetlands. Historic sites of national

importance, including many in the Minute Man National Historical Park, are located near the rivers in the Town of Concord. Among these is Old North Bridge, site of the Revolution's "shot heard round the world." The rivers are featured prominently in the works of 19th century authors Hawthorne, Emerson, and Thoreau, and have been the subject of ornithological studies since early days of field observation techniques.

Important to the designation of these rivers and their long-term protection is the strong local support and commitment to management and preservation as expressed by the communities and property owners along the river segments. Each of the eight towns along the river segments held town meetings regarding the designation of these river segments. Votes at these meetings in support of designation and endorsement of the Sudbury, Assabet, and Concord River Conservation Plan were unanimous among the eight towns. The Conservation Plan relies on local and private initiatives to protect the river segments through local zoning and land use controls.

I am pleased to add these 29 miles of the Sudbury, Assabet, and Concord Rivers to the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System. I commend the elected officials and people of Massachusetts who worked so diligently on the river study, building local support for the wild and scenic river designation and the passage of this legislation. I want to particularly commend the efforts of Representative Marty Meehan, the principal sponsor of H.R. 193, whose leadership led to the enactment of this important legislation. I also want to recognize Senator Kennedy who championed this bill in the Senate.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
April 9, 1999.

NOTE: H.R. 193, approved April 9, was not received by the Office of the Federal Register in time for designation of a Public Law number. An original was not available for verification of the content of this statement.

**Proclamation 7181—Pan American Day and Pan American Week, 1999**  
*April 9, 1999*

*By the President of the United States of America*

**A Proclamation**

Inspired by the powerful words of Thomas Jefferson, the courageous military tactics of José de San Martín, and the revolutionary spirit of Simón Bolívar and many other leaders, the peoples of the Americas forged their nations with a profound respect for liberty and justice. Today, a devotion to democratic ideals unifies the countries in our hemisphere. The strengthening of democratic institutions and practices throughout the Americas reflects our enduring commitment to human rights, free and fair elections, and the rule of law. The expansion of open markets illustrates our determination to achieve sustainable economic growth. At the dawn of a new millennium, we must work with a renewed spirit of cooperation to meet the challenges of our future and fulfill the destiny of our region.

In strengthening the ties that bind our nations together, we reaffirm our shared commitment of democracy and to the security of our hemisphere. Last April, the democratically elected leaders of our hemisphere met in Santiago, Chile, for the second Summit of the Americas. Building on the foundation laid at the Miami Summit in 1994, we developed an action plan for the future. Our strategy includes concrete methods to strengthen democracy, protect human rights, increase access to education, expand free and fair trade, and reduce corruption.

Thanks in part to the strong bonds between the nations of the Americas, our region has achieved an unprecedented era of peace and stability. As one of the world's oldest regional alliances, the Organization of American States has served as a guiding institution in that endeavor. Through several vital initiatives, it has worked to foster multilateral cooperation, to bolster hemispheric security, to resolve regional disputes, and to combat corruption, drug trafficking, and international terrorism. Our community of democracies also encouraged the governments of Peru

and Ecuador to sign an historic Peace Accord last October that finally put their long-standing border dispute to an end.

As we look to our common future, we must not forget that our vision for the Western Hemisphere also includes Cuba, whose citizens must be allowed the fruits of liberty and the rewards of integration. We must also remember that our commitment to closer cooperation becomes especially important in times of tragedy. As hundreds of thousands of people across the Americas work to rebuild their homes and their lives in the aftermath of Hurricane Mitch and the earthquake in Colombia, we must be there to lend a helping hand and to provide the tools necessary to revitalize the economies of our neighbors and help renew their communities. United by a proud history and a shared interest in deepening political, cultural, and economic ties, the democracies of our hemisphere can serve as a beacon of peace and prosperity for citizens around the world.

**Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton,** President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim Wednesday, April 14, 1999, as Pan American Day and April 11 through April 17, 1999, as Pan American Week. I urge the Governors of the 50 States, the Governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the officials of other areas under the flag of the United States to honor these observances with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

**In Witness Whereof,** I have hereunto set my hand this ninth day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-third.

**William J. Clinton**

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., April 12, 1999]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on April 13.

**Proclamation 7182—National  
Former Prisoner of War Recognition  
Day, 1999**

*April 9, 1999*

*By the President of the United States  
of America*

**A Proclamation**

"We are honored to have had the opportunity to serve our country . . . ." With these simple words, Navy Commander Jeremiah Denton, released in 1973 from North Vietnam with his companions after the longest wartime captivity of any group of Americans in our history, summed up the courage, selflessness, and indomitable spirit of generations of American prisoners of war.

For more than two centuries, Americans have risked and lost their own freedom to defend democracy, preserve America's liberty and values, and protect our national interests around the world. In Andersonville or along the Yalu River, confined in Nazi stalags or enduring torture in the Hanoi Hilton, our prisoners of war have set an extraordinary example of valor, patriotism, and devotion to duty in the face of enormous hardship and adversity. The somber black and white POW/MIA flag serves as a reminder of their sacrifice and symbolizes our Nation's deep concern for and steadfast commitment to these brave Americans and their families.

But, however dark and trying the ordeal for our prisoners of war, their sacrifices did indeed serve a grand purpose. Inspired by their bravery in captivity, our Nation has been resolute in its defense of liberty. And, because of their sacrifice, the United States today is strong, free, and prosperous, looking forward to a future of limitless possibility.

Today we pay special tribute to our Nation's former prisoners of war and their families and express our heartfelt gratitude for their many sacrifices. They have embodied the ideals of a strong people and a free Nation. They have represented America at its best, and they have served a grateful Nation with honor, dignity, and distinction. As we honor them, let us also keep foremost in our thoughts and prayers Staff Sergeant Andrew Ramirez, Staff Sergeant Christopher Stone, and Specialist Steven Gonzalez of the United

States Army as they endure unjust captivity in Yugoslavia and as we work for their safety and swift release.

**Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton**, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim April 9, 1999, as National Former Prisoner of War Recognition Day. I call upon all Americans to join me in remembering former American prisoners of war who suffered the hardships of enemy captivity. I also call upon Federal, State, and local government officials and private organizations to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

**In Witness Whereof**, I have hereunto set my hand this ninth day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-third.

**William J. Clinton**

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:46 a.m., April 12, 1999]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on April 13.

**Letter to Congressional Leaders  
Reporting on a Condition of the  
Convention on Nuclear Safety**

*April 9, 1999*

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

In accordance with Condition (1) of the resolution of advice and consent to ratification of the Convention on Nuclear Safety, adopted by the United States Senate on March 25, 1999, I hereby certify that the United States Government will not engage in any multilateral activity in the field of international nuclear regulation or nuclear safety that unnecessarily duplicates a multilateral activity undertaken pursuant to the Convention.

Sincerely,

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Jesse Helms, chairman, and Joseph R. Biden, Jr., ranking member, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations;

Benjamin A. Gilman, chairman, and Sam Gejdenson, ranking member, House Committee on International Relations.

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### **Digest of Other White House Announcements**

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The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

#### ***April 3***

The President and Hillary Clinton went to Camp David, MD.

#### ***April 4***

The President and Hillary Clinton returned to the White House.

#### ***April 5***

The President announced the appointment of Barbara Bostick-Hunt as Special Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs at the White House.

#### ***April 7***

The President announced his intention to appoint John C. Culver, William C. Mauk, and Huel D. Perkins to the J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board.

The President announced his intention to nominate David L. Goldwyn to be Assistant Secretary for International Affairs at the Department of Energy.

#### ***April 8***

The President announced his intention to appoint Miguel Angel Corzo and Susan Keech McIntosh as members of the Cultural Property Advisory Committee.

#### ***April 9***

In the morning, the President traveled to Philadelphia, PA. In the afternoon, he had a telephone conversation from Memorial Hall with Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema of Italy concerning the situation in the Balkans. In the evening, the President returned to Washington, DC.

The White House announced that the President will present the Presidential Medal

of Freedom to former Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany on April 20.

The White House announced that the President invited President Jose Aznar of Spain for an informal visit on April 13.

The President declared a major disaster in Louisiana and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by severe storms, tornadoes, and flooding on April 3-7.

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### **Nominations Submitted to the Senate**

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NOTE: No nominations were submitted to the Senate during the period covered by this issue.

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### **Checklist of White House Press Releases**

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The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

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#### ***Released April 5***

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Fact sheet: Additional U.S. Humanitarian Relief for Kosovar Albanians

#### ***Released April 6***

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

#### ***Released April 7***

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Transcript of a press briefing by Deputy National Security Adviser Jim Steinberg, NSC Senior Director for Asian Affairs Kenneth G. Lieberthal, and Deputy National Security Adviser for International Economic Affairs Lael Brainard on the visit of Premier Zhu Rongji of China

Statement by the Press Secretary: U.S. Ports Closed to Federal Republic of Yugoslavia vessels

***Released April 8***

Transcript of a press briefing by National Economic Council Director Gene Sperling and U.S. Trade Representative Charlene Barshefsky on trade with China

***Released April 9***

Statement by the Press Secretary: Medal of Freedom for Helmut Kohl

Statement by the Press Secretary: Visit of President Jose Maria Aznar of Spain

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**Acts Approved  
by the President**

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***Approved April 5***

H.R. 68 / Public Law 106-9  
Small Business Investment Improvement Act of 1999

H.R. 92 / Public Law 106-10  
To designate the Federal building and United States courthouse located at 251 North Main Street in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, as the "Hiram H. Ward Federal Building and United States Courthouse"

H.R. 158 / Public Law 106-11  
To designate the United States courthouse located at 316 North 26th Street in Billings, Montana, as the "James F. Battin United States Courthouse"

H.R. 233 / Public Law 106-12  
To designate the Federal building located at 700 East San Antonio Street in El Paso,

Texas, as the "Richard C. White Federal Building"

H.R. 396 / Public Law 106-13  
To designate the Federal building located at 1301 Clay Street in Oakland, California, as the "Ronald V. Dellums Federal Building"

***Approved April 6***

H.J. Res. 26 / Public Law 106-14  
Providing for the reappointment of Barber B. Conable, Jr. as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution

H.J. Res. 27 / Public Law 106-15  
Providing for the reappointment of Dr. Hanna H. Gray as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution

H.J. Res. 28 / Public Law 106-16  
Providing for the reappointment of Wesley S. Williams, Jr. a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution

H.R. 774 / Public Law 106-17  
Women's Business Center Amendments Act of 1999

***Approved April 8***

H.R. 171 / Public Law 106-18  
To authorize appropriations for the Coastal Heritage Trail Route in New Jersey, and for other purposes

H.R. 705 / Public Law 106-19  
To make technical corrections with respect to the monthly reports submitted by the Postmaster General on official mail of the House of Representatives